Carolina Planning

Volume 19
Number 1

Universities and Planning

Editors' Note

During the 1993-94 school year, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will be celebrating its bicentennial as the oldest state university in the nation. This time of celebration is also a time of reflection--a time to look at how the university affects life outside of campus. In this issue of *Carolina Planning*, we have taken the opportunity to examine the role of universities and colleges in all aspects of planning. Although many of the articles focus on Chapel Hill, the issues contained can be applied well beyond UNC-CH.

Too often, students, faculty and administrators hole themselves up in the proverbial ivory tower of academia, looking down at the communities that they are chartered to serve. With the limited resources that the nation and particularly this state possess, it seems wasteful not to take advantage of the skills and expertise that universities and colleges can offer. Institutions of higher learning do not only provide guidance, they also serve as laboratories for planning issues from historic preservation to housing.

In the lead article, David Dill offers just such an example as he discusses how a university plans. His article offers lessons on how any large bureaucracy may prepare for its future. Brooke Tyson continues that theme by discussing the lengthy process followed by the oldest state university in the nation to prepare for a bicentennial celebration.

Stuart Chapin, who was named a Pioneer of Planning by the American Planning Association, provides a historical context for UNC-CH, by taking us from the inception of the Department of City and Regional Planning to its present-day structure. Along the way, he offers insights about how planning education has changed and offers some suggestions about how it might progress. Patricia Samford continues looking at the campus' past by examining how plans for campus development often encroach on sites of historical value and the many and varied opportunities that the bicentennial offers for addressing this dilemma.

Moving beyond Chapel Hill, Isaac Heard writes about the important role that universities and colleges can play in economic development of their communities. Heard examines three North Carolina institutions and their efforts in this area including Johnson C. Smith, a historically black university. Anne Crabbe and Joseph Grimsley continue on the subject of colleges as an economic development player by focusing on a community college's technical preparation program. This program is designed to prepare high school students to more effectively enter the work force of the next few decades.

Colin Austin, a student at the Department of City and Regional Planning, contrasts the discussion of the positive role many institutions are playing. In his article, he argues that colleges should be doing more for their communities and suggests it is part of their moral obligation to cooperate with the towns that they inhabit.

Cooperation with a community is the major focus of Christine Cihlar's and John Underwood's article. The authors discuss how a state college and a national historic site have learned to live in peace while the institution continues to expand. Barbara Sporn briefly examines the role of an institution's own culture in planning for the future. Sporn offers suggestions for integrating this concept into strategic marketing planning at universities--a necessity in our changing times and the focus of an upcoming international symposium.

In the publication's final article, we depart from our university focus to present David Godschalk's examination of the inner city 25 years after the publication of the Kerner Commission's report on Urban Unrest. This article won the inaugural Shirley Weiss award for essays written on the American city and we hope to publish winners in the years to come.

Fifty years ago, on the occasion of its sesquicentennial, UNC-CH reviewed its achievements and failings and set a course for change--change which included expansion of its health services, research functions and graduate studies. The Department of City and Regional Planning was founded shortly thereafter in partial fulfillment of the university's goals. From the context of the planning profession in the 1940s to southern Maryland in the 1990s, we believe that this collection of articles, albeit varied, share one essential theme--recognition of community. We are confident that this issue of *Carolina Planning* will spark discussion and debate about how colleges and universities can more effectively serve their communities not only in North Carolina but throughout the nation and the world.

Dan Broun
Patricia McGuire

EDITORS

John Anton

Dan Broun

Patricia McGuire

Steven Stichter

Carolina Planning is published biannually by students in the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, with the assistance of funds from the John A. Parker Trust Fund, Department of City and Regional Planning, and the North Carolina chapter of the American Planning Association and the Department of City and Regional Planning Alumni Association.

Subscriptions to *Carolina Planning* are available at an annual rate of $12.00, or $20.00 for two years. Back issues are available for $6.00 per issue.

Carolina Planning welcomes comments and suggestions on the articles published. Please address all correspondence to: *Carolina Planning*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Campus Box # 3140, New East Building, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27599-3140.

Photograph and Illustration Credits: David Dill: 3, 5, 8; U.N.C. News Bureau: 11, 15; Bicentennial Observance: 12, 13, 14; U.N.C. Photo Lab: 18; U.N.C. Department of City and Regional Planning: 19, 21; North Carolina Collection, U.N.C. Library: 26; Davidson College Development Corporation: 30; Johnson C. Smith University: 31; Anne B. Crabbe: 35, 37; Dan Broun: 38; Carleton College News Bureau: 41, 43; St. Mary's College: 46, 49, 51; Barbara Sporn: 53, 54.

Cover: Design by Steven Stichter, Patricia McGuire and Dan Broun; Photo Courtesty of the U.N.C. News Bureau

Printed by the University of North Carolina Printing Department on recycled paper.

Carolina Planning wishes to thank Carroll Cyphert, David Brower, Pat Coke, Asta Cooper, Bruce Egan, Renee Schwalberg, Jonathan Howes, and the Center for Urban and Regional Studies.

© 1993 Department of City and Regional Planning

Carolina Planning

A Student-Run Publication of the University of North Carolina Department of City and Regional Planning

Volume 19
Number 1

Special Focus: UNC-CH	**Implementing a Planning Process: A Problem in Organizational Design**	David D. Dill	2
	Planning UNC's Bicentennial Observance	J. Brooke Tyson	10
	Reflections on Planning Education at UNC-CH	F. Stuart Chapin, Jr.	16
	Preservation Planning for Archeological Resources at the University of North Carolina	Patricia M. Samford	23
Articles	**Universities and Community Development: Three Case Studies from North Carolina**	Isaac Heard, Jr.	28
	Tech Prep Associate Degree: Preparing Today's Students for Tomorrow's Workplace	Joseph W. Grimsley Anne B. Crabbe	34
	The Town Behind the Gown: Making a Case for the Forgotten Partner	Colin Austin	40
	St. Mary's College: A Case Study in Campus Planning with Particular Historical and Environmental Challeges	Christine C. Cihlar John D. Underwood	45
	The Effects of Organizational Culture on Strategic Marketing Planning at Universities	Barbara Sporn	53
Forum: The Weiss Award	**Attacking the Isolation of the Racial Underclass: Explanations and Implications for a New Era**	David K. Godschalk	56

Implementing a Planning Process: A Problem in Organizational Design

David D. Dill

In their now classic study of academic organizations in the early 1970s Cohen and March (1986) asked college and university presidents whether their college had a "plan." The responses tended to fall into four alternatives:

> (1) Yes, we have a plan. It is used in capital project and physical location decisions.
>
> (2) Yes, we have a plan. Here it is. It was made during the administration of our last president. We are working on a new one.
>
> (3) No, we do not have a plan. We should. We are working on one.
>
> (4) I think there's a plan around here someplace. Miss Jones, do we have a copy of our comprehensive 10-year plan? (p. 113)

Cohen and March concluded that, if planning is understood as specification of objectives, identification of alternative routes to objectives, and choice among alternatives, then there was little evidence of comprehensive planning in higher education. Rather planning was understood as a symbolic activity, creating institutional advertisements to attract the support of private and public donors.

In the decade that followed Cohen and March's study, however, the world of higher education changed. American colleges and universities experienced "the three R's of the eighties--reduction, reallocation, and retrenchment" (Mortimer and Tierney, 1979) and "strategic planning" became a ubiquitous term in the literature of higher education (Keller, 1983). Nonetheless, in a national study of planning at American colleges and universities during the 1980s, Schmidtlein and Milton (1989) reaffirmed the findings of Cohen and March:

> (1) most institutions reinvented their planning process every two to three years;
>
> (2) there were few examples of substantive planning efforts; and
>
> (3) college and university planning processes appeared to be either a product of presidents' desires to establish their credentials as leaders, or, in the case of public institutions, external mandates by state agencies.

Similar to Cohen and March, they found little evidence of planning that led to strategic choices. Yet leading organizational writers (Hardy, et al., 1983) continued to argue that the development of a strategic choice-making process was not only essential to academic management, but one of the most crucial contributions central administrators could make to improving the comparative advantage of their institutions. In a recent national study of American colleges and universities Cameron and Tschirhart (1992) discovered that in the current "post-industrial" environment the processes used to make strategic choices was the most important predictor of both management success and organizational performance over time.

How is it possible to reconcile the reality of symbolic or superficial comprehensive planning processes, easily observable at many, if not most, colleges and universities, with the obvious need for strategic choices in the

David D. Dill is Professor of Education and Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and since 1984 has served as Assistant to the Chancellor for Planning. He holds a Bachelor's degree from Oberlin College and Master's and Ph.D. degrees in education from the Universities of Chicago and Michigan respectively. This article was adapted from a paper presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Society for College and University Planning in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1990s? Part of the reason for this perceived disjunction is a failure of design (Orr, 1992). When college and university planning processes are well designed, they harmonize with and support the academic organizations in which they are embedded. When poorly designed, they undermine the decisions necessary for institutional adaptation, creating administrative overhead, wasteful paperwork, and distrust.

There appear to be three primary reasons for the ineffective design of college and university planning. First, when resources were plentiful we did not need to master the discipline of good design. Higher education institutions grew incrementally, often in a redundant fashion. The planning processes by which this growth was managed were often informal. Second, design fails when narrow self-interest and individualism overcome the community interest. Colleges and universities are among the most segmented organizations in contemporary society. Academic organizations are fragmented into departments, disciplines, programs, and research centers which pursue their own goals, frequently at the expense of the larger organization. A well-designed comprehensive planning process must encourage individuals and units to value the normative bonds that bring them together and hold them together (Dill, 1982). Third, a good planning design must be sensitive to the governance tradition of each institution, respecting the processes of decision making which have evolved over many years. Attempts to insert the planning process of another institution into a particular culture and place encourages distrust and confusion.

In the sections that follow, a framework for improving the design of comprehensive planning processes in colleges and universities will be outlined. In the first section the essential concepts of organizational design will be introduced. Then, general principles for promoting good design in academic planning processes will be reviewed. Finally, the application of these principles will be illustrated in the development and implementation of a comprehensive planning process at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH). This article will focus on the design of planning processes at large, complex universities. Nonetheless most, if not all of the organizational design principles are generally applicable at smaller, less differentiated institutions, as well as at the unit level within larger institutions. No claim is made that the planning process at Chapel Hill is an ideal. In fact, it suffered from a number of the problems characteristic of other comprehensive planning processes. Rather, the goal of the article is to contribute to the development of a body of practice knowledge regarding the design and implementation of academic planning processes. Such knowledge in use can, in turn, help others improve their strategic choice processes over time.

Organizational Design

In the simplest terms, there are three essential concepts of organizational design: differentiation, integration, and contingency (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1986). Differentiation represents the separating and grouping of individuals into units to carry out the organization's tasks. Integration represents the degree of collaboration among existing units.

All organizations are characterized by both differentiation and integration, but the balance between the two is contingent upon the type of task being performed and the nature of the environment. For example, a group psychiatric practice is highly differentiated into separately practicing professionals. The psychiatrists have a low degree of integration, limited to collaboration on the management of a common facility and common services such as billing. In contrast, a rugby team has low differentiation--unlike American football, all rugby players must be able to run, kick, and handle the ball--and high integration in the form of practiced teamwork. The image of a rugby team weaving its way down the field is a perfect example of collaboration. The tasks performed by each respective group affect the design of the organization. But the design is also influenced by the nature of the environment. Increasing competition in the psychi-

Organizational Design

	1970s	1990s
Environment	Growth	Post-Industrial
Structure	High Differentiation Low Integration (Loosely-Coupled)	High Differentiation High Integration
Decision Making	Garbage Can (Strategic Certainty)	Strategic Choice (Strategic Uncertainty)

Figure 1. Organizational design changes from 1970 to 1990.

atric profession has made solo practice less efficient and created a need for group practices. Applying these three concepts to our earlier discussion of planning processes reveals several key points (Figure 1).

First, the early 1960s just prior to Cohen and March's research was the greatest growth market in the history of American higher education, characterized by plentiful resources and rapidly increasing student enrollments (Ben-David, 1972). While competition among academic institutions existed it was made largely invisible by the unusual opportunities for program expansion. In this environment academic structure was characterized by high differentiation and low integration. The operative word for academic organization was "loosely-coupled" (Weick, 1976). The problem of conflict between units, and the need for collaboration, could be ignored because differentiation appeared to solve most problems of organizational design. If faculty members in applied and pure mathematics did not get along, a separate department of operations research was created; if the economics department would not collaborate with the business school, the business school could appoint its own economists. Given this munificent environment, program development was predictable--strategically certain. Consequently, academic decision-making at many campuses degenerated to a form of theater, characterized by Cohen and March (1986) as a "garbage can" process in which problems, solutions, participants, and choices flowed together randomly. In this process, few problems were solved and few choices were made.

Critical to Cohen and March's decision-making model, however, and little emphasized in subsequent references, was the necessity of "organizational slack" or slack resources. In short, choice-making of American colleges and universities of the 1970s was contingent upon a predictable, growth-oriented, non-competitive environment.

In the 1990s, as Cameron and Tschirhart (1992) suggest, colleges and universities face a post-industrial environment characterized by high competition among institutions, scarcity of resources, and unpredictable fluctuations in enrollments and revenues. By definition, program development in a post-industrial environment is strategically uncertain. Strategic choices must be made among programs and activities. In this environment, greater attention will therefore need to be given to saving costs, increasing the efficiency of decision making, and improving program quality--or, as William Massy emphasizes, increasing productivity (Massy, 1990). If the design of academic decision-making processes in the 1970s was contingent upon its munificent environment, than the design of the 1990s will be similarly contingent upon our new competitive environment. Cameron and Tschirhart assert that, in this new context, decision-making needs to be more participative, more integrated on both the vertical and horizontal dimension, with greater delegation of authority and responsibility to the appropriate level. In short, there needs to be much greater integration and collaboration among differentiated units. The segmentation of academic work cannot be eliminated--research and discovery require academic specialization. Differentiation must be matched by mechanisms promoting integration.

To summarize, in order for an academic institution's planning to become a truly strategic-choice process, it must be designed as a primary means of organizational integration. If the process is not designed to promote collaboration, it cannot hope to effectively promote strategic choice. The means for achieving integration within organizations are widely known (Nadler and Tushman, 1988). They involve nurturing norms essential to community and designing and implementing structural mechanisms that promote communication and socialization among organizational members. In the context of academic planning processes these design elements can be organized into five general categories:

(1) clarifying and articulating norms essential to the legitimacy of the planning process;

(2) designating and grouping functions where necessary;

(3) promoting reciprocal (down-up) communication;

(4) encouraging the development of a planning and choice making process within each strategic unit; and

(5) increasing direct communication and the sharing of information among members of the academic community.

Designing a Planning Process: A Case Study

These organizational design guidelines provide a basis for designing and implementing a comprehensive planning process that will promote the organizational integration necessary for strategic choice. The case discussion that follows illustrates how these general principles were applied in the design of the planning process at a major, public, research university. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was the first public university to open its doors in the United States. A member of the American Association of Universities (since 1922) Chapel Hill is one of only a handful of public institutions that combine, in one campus, comprehensive academic and health affairs programs. The University currently has fourteen schools and colleges, including professional schools of medicine, dentistry, business, and law. UNC-CH grew rapidly from under 6000, primarily undergraduate students in the 1960s, to over 23,000 in 1992-93, 34% of whom are engaged in graduate and professional education.

Because of this rapid and continuous growth in en-

Elements of Organizational Design

Clarifying/Articulating Essential Norms--Norms indispensable to successful strategic choice-making, are to be articulated verbally and manifested visibly in the design of the planning process itself. This can be accomplished by:

- publicly articulating academic criteria to be used as a basis for planning choices (see, e.g., criteria developed by universities such as Michigan, Minnesota, Stanford, SUNY-Albany, and Vanderbilt in Figure 2);
- ensuring that representatives in the planning process from the larger academic community are fairly selected;
- designing the planning process to clearly integrate with the budgeting process as a means of promoting trust in the process;
- fostering openness by making both planning and resource allocation information broadly available to members of the academic community; and
- encouraging fair treatment by initiating a comprehensive process in which all units are included.

Criterion	Mich.	Minn.	Stanf.	SUNY Albany	Vand.
Quality	X	X	X	X	X
Societal/Student Demand	X	X	X	X	X
Cost	X	X	X	X	X
Uniqueness/ Locational Advantage	X	X		X	X
Centrality	X			X	
Connectedness	X	X			
Integration		X			

Figure 2. Planning criteria at selected universities.

Designating/Grouping Units--The designation of who or which units will develop plans is a powerful means of fostering unit integration and responsibility:

- identifying units where programs, technologies, and customers interact, and thus where strategic choices are possible; and
- grouping units which share similar technologies and/or customers as a means of promoting consolidation and an integrated strategic focus.

Promoting Reciprocal (Down-Up) Communication--Motivating change requires implementing means of encouraging two-way communication and information sharing:

- involving those who will be asked to produce plans in the design of the overall planning process.
- distributing a "Call to Plan" as a means of shaping and stimulating discussions among planning units on strategic direction;
- scheduling planning hearings as a means of encouraging down-up communication; and
- specifying responsibilities and deadlines for responses to plans as well as for planning submissions.

Encouraging Planning in Strategic Units--Given the necessary decentralization of academic organizations, strategic choice making processes must be encouraged at all levels of colleges and universities:

- design must assure development of a collective-planning process within each relevant unit;
- provide consultative planning services to support units where necessary;
- disseminate planning and management data relevant to the proposed planning process; and
- structure the planning report so as to prompt strategic choices by the unit.

Increasing Direct Communication and the Sharing of Information--The fluid nature of participation, and the high degree of differentiation in academic organizations, requires that administrators foster a common culture through the techniques of direct communication:

- wide distribution of a "Call to Plan" to help build the shared information, language, and norms necessary for strategic choice;
- involving faculty members, staff members, and students in the process of reviewing plans; and
- distributing special reports of the outcomes of the planning process to all members of the institiution.

rollment, as well as generous state support for operating and capital budgets, UNC-CH was shielded from the financial crises experienced by many American public universities during the 1970s. The recession of the early 1980s was met by a state-wide freeze on public employees' salaries, however, and UNC-CH approached the end of the 80s and difficult decision-making with limited experience in comprehensive planning. In spite of a rich tradition of informal faculty governance, the experience of incremental growth had not required a specific process for faculty involvement in planning and budgeting. The University was divided into academic and health affairs divisions and a resource allocation process which encouraged decentralization and strong deans.

In 1988, a new Chancellor initiated a comprehensive planning process. A planning design committee was formed and charged with developing a proposal. The committee was selected to represent a "diagonal slice" of the University: it included the vertical dimension of administration, staff, and students, as well as the horizontal dimension of different academic and administrative units. The committee included the chair of the faculty, knowledgeable representatives of the academic and financial vice chancellors, the deans of the two largest schools (i.e., Arts and Sciences and Medicine), and two other deans who had already implemented planning processes within their schools.

The committee began by examining the planning processes of peer universities such as Virginia, Minnesota, Penn State, and North Carolina State. In the process of comparative analysis seven questions, pertaining to the organizational design principles discussed above, were posed to the committee as a means of structuring its task. These questions formed the basis for the committee's activities.

What Should be the Planning Timetable?

Planning involves large numbers of people. It has an opportunity cost in both time and energy. Time spent on planning cannot be spent on other things. Therefore, comprehensive planning must be sequenced with other critical ongoing processes such as operating and capital budgeting. Because UNC-CH is on a biennial state budgeting schedule, the planning process was proposed for the "off" year in which budget preparation was not required. Since this was to be the first comprehensive plan in the University's history, it was recommended that the process be initiated in the late spring of the academic year to permit deans and directors to design their own planning process over the intervening summer. The timetable covered a full calendar year to encourage involvement at every level of the University.

What Units Should be Designated as Planning Units?

This activity presented a problem of selection and grouping. Part of the planning design is to determine which units need to develop a strategic focus, as well as to capitalize on the planning process to promote needed consolidation. The planning design at Chapel Hill ultimately focused on twenty planning units, composed primarily of the schools and colleges. Because of the tradition of strong deans and semi-autonomous academic units, it was deemed inappropriate to review plans for units below the level of a school, college, or administrative division. Instead, the importance of developing a planning process within each of the planning units and of selecting additional planning units at a lower level were underscored but delegated to the appropriate vice chancellor or dean. Each of the twenty unit heads, however, would be asked to report on their "plan to plan" early in the planning process.

Several "grouping" decisions proved extremely helpful. Chapel Hill has traditionally operated with three separate libraries: academic affairs, health affairs, and the law library. The decision to group all three libraries as a planning unit led to a pan-university strategic library plan, and fostered increased communication and collaboration between the libraries which has continued. Similarly, several departmentalized schools, which had previously tried to develop overall plans but had fallen victim to political fights and turf issues between departments, were now able to capitalize upon the university-wide call to plan to implement their own plans and continuing planning processes.

What Types of Guidelines or Parameters Should be Contained in the "Call to Plan" Issued to Each Unit?

The document which sets the stage for a planning process provides a valuable opportunity to influence the culture of a college or university. As at Minnesota, Michigan, and Stanford, the document can articulate institutional criteria forming the normative basis for choices regarding priorities and budgetary allocations at every level. The planning document can also provide perceptions of the shared environment of all institutional units as well as outline institutional priorities, needs, and planning assumptions to guide the development of unit plans. In its language, and in its conception of planning, the initial planning document can establish the extent to which trust, fairness, and openness will prevail. At Chapel Hill, the planning design committee recommended that the Chancellor's "Call to Plan" include university planning assumptions (the major assumptions were stable enrollment and limited growth in state support), a careful description of the planning process, the newly developed mission statement of the University, the planning calendar including deadlines and responsibilities for both planning units and review bodies, a list of the planning units, the expected format for unit plans, and a sample plan for a fictitious unit. In

addition, the Chancellor was encouraged to outline his views of strategic issues confronting the University.

Because a number of the central administrative officers, including the Chancellor, had recently joined the University from other institutions, the process was designed to emphasize "bottom-up" communication and the development of planning capacity at the unit level. Criteria for strategic choice were not articulated. Instead, emphasis was placed upon openness and communication with the expectation that institutional norms might be better communicated in subsequent planning cycles.

What Should be Included in a Unit's Subitted Plan?

What a unit is asked to prepare in a planning document will influence, to some extent, whether the unit will develop a strategic process for developing choices, or will produce a "shelf document." Most planning requests emphasize the articulation of longer range goals and objectives, joined with shorter range strategies or actions designed to accomplish the goals. At Chapel Hill, the complexity of the University and the concern with developing a strategic choice capacity at every level of the institution led to the following framework for the unit plans:

I. Unit Assessment

- strengths/weaknesses of the unit;
- status of unit's human, financial and physical resources;
- significant new developments in the area or field;
- opportunities that exist for the development of new or enhanced programs, services, and activities with other units in the University

II. Specific Goals for a Five-Year Period
III. Program Strategies

- actions to be taken in the next biennium to achieve stated goals
- indicating source of funding and other units affected

The emphasis of each document was to be on presenting the collective judgment of the members of the unit regarding necessary decisions and actions. Therefore, plans were meant to be brief documents, between five and ten pages. Further, the focus was to be on a five-year planning horizon reflecting collective, creative thought.

What Type of Data Should be Provided to Each Unit as Part of the Planning Process?

Many universities have developed data profiles or formats for each of their planning units which can inform judgments by university decision-makers and individual units. These profiles provide a common vocabulary of data, indicators, and critical ratios, as well as intrinsic criteria such as student/faculty ratios, which contribute to the integration of the institution. The failure to define or make manifest this type of data is one reason that choice-making has been so difficult in academic institutions. After examining the planning data employed by a number of peer research universities, the planning design committee recommended the development of Planning Data Sheets, a four-page summary of critical planning information for both academic and support units. The sheets included data on students, measures of academic performance (e.g., student credit hours), space utilization information, indicators of contract and grant activity, and expenditures by fund source and purpose. Data were provided including three-year trends, where possible. The sheets were designed in a "roll-up" format. Similar sheets could be produced at every level of the University: all university, division, school, and department. The sheets for each of the twenty units were provided to its respective planning unit head. Decisions on distribution below that level were made by the unit leader. The goal was to provide a body of common data and information to aid strategic choice-making at every level.

What Should be the Process for Reviewing Plans (i.e., Who, When, and How)?

The process of reviewing unit plans is an obvious and important design component for promoting reciprocal communication. Plans may be reviewed incrementally--first the review of mission statements, then the review of an initial draft, then the review of the final planning document--a process which encourages socialization and learning. Plans can be reviewed hierarchically, principally by line administrators, or by a process that emphasizes collegial structures thereby promoting horizontal communication (Dill & Helm, 1988). This aspect of the design can determine the degree to which a planning process can increase integration in academic organizations and requires careful attention. The planning design at Chapel Hill included the following mechanisms which were designed to promote reciprocal communication:

- Initial review of a one-page "Plan to Plan."
- Reviews of school plans in academic and health affairs by the Provost and Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs, respectively, prior to the due date of plans.
- Review of plans by the Chancellor and a Planning Review Committee composed of the line vice chancellors, the president of the student body, the chair of the faculty and four faculty members appointed by the

chair. This latter, ad hoc mechanism, was employed because no existing governance group was deemed appropriate.

- Scheduled meetings, prior to unit plan submissions and after the planning presentations, to permit the Planning Review Committee to first develop collaborative norms, and then to advise the Chancellor on responses to unit plans, as well as appropriate content for a university-wide report on the planning process.
- Scheduled meetings between the Planning Review Committee and the twenty unit heads to discuss the unit plans.
- Scheduled letters from the Chancellor to each unit head providing feedback on their plan.

How Can the Results of the Planning Process Best be Linked to the Budgeting Process?

The linkage between planning and budgeting is a critical design issue best understood as a problem of the larger issue of organizational integration. The planning design committee at Chapel Hill recommended scheduling the planning period in the year prior to the submission of the state budget, including the executive officers most centrally involved in resource allocation in the Planning Review Committee, and assigning strategy-setting duties to each unit where resource tradeoffs could best be made. Finally, the committee recommended publishing and broadly circulating a Chancellor's Report on Planning which included the plans of each of the twenty units and an outline of the needs for the University as a whole. In short, while the committee set the stage for the articulation of planning and budgeting, it argued that the University needed a comprehensive, longer-range planning process, particularly in this initial effort. Further, it recognized that the budgeting process itself would likely need to be redesigned as a result of the planning process.

Implementation of the Planning Process

Throughout the process of planning design and implementation, attention was given to clarifying and articulating community norms, designating strategic units, promoting reciprocal communication, encouraging planning in critical units, and increasing communication through the direct sharing of information. Figure 3 summarizes the major components of the planning design.

As a first step in promoting reciprocal communication, the proposed planning process was circulated for comment and criticism to the principal administrative and faculty committees as well as all administrative heads. The overall response was extremely supportive. Suggested changes led to the realignment of the number of planning units as well as some revision of the planning calendar.

The planning process was initiated by the distribution of the Chancellor's Call to Plan in April 1990, and immediately followed by a meeting among the central administrators and heads of the designated planning units to discuss the overall process. Over the summer months, planning data sheets for each unit were prepared and distributed. In September, each planning unit submitted to the Chancellor a brief report on their proposed planning process, and another meeting was held at which several of the proposed unit processes were presented for discussion

Implementation of Planning Process at UNC-CH

Month 1	Circulation of Planning Design
Month 6	Issuance of Call to Plan
Months 8-10	Provision of Planning Data
Month 11	Submission of Plan to Plan
Months 12-15	Appointment/Preparation of Planning Review Committee
Month 19	Submission of Plans
Month 20	Planning Presentations/Review
Month 22	Chancellor's Letters to Units
Month 24	Chancellor's Report on Planning

Figure 3

Over the winter of 1990-91 the Planning Review committee was formally appointed and met several times to develop its role in the planning process and to plan the scheduled reviews. Following review by the relevant Vice Chancellor, plans were submitted to the Chancellor in June of 1991. During July, planning hearings were held at which each planning unit head made a verbal presentation of their plans to the Planning Review Committee. Following these presentations, which featured active exchanges between the committee and those presenting, the committee met to recommend points that might appear in the Chancellor's letters to each unit and to suggest content for the Chancellor's scheduled report on planning. In September of 1991, letters providing reactions to each of the twenty plans were sent by the Chancellor to the relevant unit heads. In the spring of 1992, The Chancellor's Report on Planning was distributed to all members of the academic community. It included synopses of the twenty unit plans, as well as a statement of needs and issues affecting the University as a whole.

Outcome of the Planning Process

The outcome of this first exercise in comprehensive planning was, predictably, mixed. There was general agreement at the conclusion of the planning cycle that the University had not identified its overall priorities or made necessary strategic choices. In this sense, the result of the planning process at UNC-CH was consistent with those observed in recent research on planning (Schmidtlein and Milton, 1989). There were, as always, mitigating circumstances. As the planning process began, the University was jolted by substantial cuts in its state appropriations. These changes in the environment clearly raised the ante on expected outcomes of the planning process. As the planning process came to fruition, both the Provost and the Vice Chancellor for Business and Finance left the University for new positions.

Nonetheless, there were a number of positive gains. Several academic units used the planning process to increase their internal cohesion, and developed a capacity for strategic decision-making. The review process led to a stated consensus on what were termed "pan-university" needs: rebuilding the library collections, networking the campus, funding critical health and safety projects, and developing a university-wide budgeting and reallocation process. As a result, a university-wide budget committee was formed composed of the Provost, Vice Chancellor for Business and Finance, Vice Chancellor for Graduate Studies and Research, Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs, and the Deans of Arts and Sciences and Medicine. A budget reserve of one percent of overall state appropriations was carved out of the budgets of all units, but the budget cuts varied according to unit resources and needs. This reserve was then reallocated to the identified pan-university projects. Following the faculty involvement in the Planning Review Committee, the Faculty Council created a standing Executive Committee to represent the faculty in further planning and budgeting. Reciprocal communication genuinely increased as a result of the overall process, and the campus was not fragmented by the pressures of budgetary cutbacks.

In short, following the logic of organizational design, the campus was able to move from very limited experience in comprehensive planning to extensive experience, and managed in the process to avoid the more obvious mistakes of centralized, top-down decision-making. Many of the components essential to strategic choice-making in a post-industrial environment are now in place. Finally, they were developed in a manner consistent with the academic and governance traditions of the institution.

Conclusion

Institutions of higher education are among the most differentiated organizations in contemporary society. Academic organizations are fragmented into departments and units that are frequently in conflict over goals and resources. But the post-industrial environment, characterized by increasing competition and decreasing resources, requires that academic institutions better integrate these differentiated segments to achieve unity of effort, efficiency, and quality. The organization of academic life thus can be understood as an ongoing dialectic between the forces for differentiation and the forces for integration. The process of planning, properly understood, is a critical mechanism for achieving integration in highly differentiated academic organizations. How one develops and implements an integrative planning process in a highly fragmented organization is a classic, and challenging, problem of organizational design.CP

References

Ben-David, J. *American Higher Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972

Cameron, K., & Tschirhart, M. "Post-industrial Environments and Organizational Effectiveness in Colleges and Universities." *Journal of Higher Education*, 63(1), 1992. 87-108.

Cohen, M., & March, J. *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (2nd ed.). Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1986.

Dill, D. "The Management of Academic Culture: Notes on the Management of Meaning and Social Integration." *Higher Education*, 11(3), 1982: 303-320.

Dill, D. & Helm, K. "Faculty Participation in Strategic Policy Making." In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol. 4, pp. 319-355). New York: Agathon Press, 1988.

Hardy, C., Langley, A., Mintzberg, H., & Rose, J. "Strategy Formation in the University Setting." *Review of Higher Education*, 6(4), 1983 407-433.

Keller, G. *Academic Strategy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Lawrence, P. & Lorsch, J. *Organization and Environment* (Rev. ed.). Boston: Harvard Business School Press. 1986

Massy, W. *The Dynamics of Academic Productivity*. Denver, CO: State Higher Education Executive Officers, 1990.

Mortimer, K. & Tierney, M. *The Three "R's" of the Eighties: Reduction Reallocation. and Retrenchment.* Washington, DC: American Association of Higher Education, 1979.

Nadler, D. & Tushman, M. *Strategic Organization Design*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1988.

Orr, D. "Liberalizing the Liberal Arts: From Domination to Design". *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, 88(3), 1992. 16-19,52.

Schmidtlein, F. & Milton, T. "College and University Planning: Perspectives from a Nation-Wide Study." *Planning for Higher Education*, 17(3), 1989. 1-20.

Weick, K. "Educational Organizations as Loosely-Coupled Systems." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21(1). 1-19.

Planning UNC's Bicentennial Observance

J. Brooke Tyson

Three weeks after, George Washington laid the cornerstone for the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., another cornerstone was laid in Chapel Hill, N.C--that of public higher education in the United States. On Oct. 12, 1793, the cornerstone of Old East, the nation's first state university building, was laid on the campus of the University of North Carolina.

Now, in 1993, UNC-Chapel Hill celebrates 200 years of educational excellence and public service. The Bicentennial Observance begins on Oct. 12, 1993 (University Day), and concludes May 15, 1994 (Commencement). The official theme is "First in the Nation."

At the time of the Revolutionary War, only nine colleges existed in all 13 colonies. All were private institutions. The idea of a public university was radically new. But on Dec. 11, 1789, the University of North Carolina was chartered by an act of the North Carolina General Assembly. The bill to create the University was introduced by William Richardson Davie, a resident of Halifax and a statesman who earlier had helped frame the U.S. Constitution. Davie's vision was to open the doors of education to the common man, not just the privileged few.

In 1790, the Board of Trustees met for the first time, and in 1792 the site for the University was chosen on New Hope Chapel hill in Orange County. Legend says that Davie chose the Chapel Hill site for its inspiring beauty and for the towering majesty of a tulip poplar tree. (The beauty of campus still is inspiring, and the Davie Poplar still survives.) In 1793, the construction of Old East began.

Two years later, on Jan. 15, 1795, the University opened its doors to students. One month later (on Feb. 12, 1795) the first student, 18-year-old Hinton James, arrived at the University having traveled on foot (according to legend) from Wilmington to Chapel Hill.

The Rev. David Ker, the entire faculty at that time, greeted James as he entered the halls of public higher education. Two weeks later, James was joined by other students seeking instruction at America's first public university. James and six other men formed Carolina's first graduating class in 1798.

For James and his classmates of 1795, student life was much different than it is today. James' first year at the University cost $30; students could rent feather beds for $24 or sleep on boards. On Saturdays these well-rested students read essays in the presence of the student body and faculty. Examinations and Commencement took place in one day, and afterwards, students received a week of vacation.

Despite how different their lives may seem to us now, James and his classmates were forging what was to become a fundamental privilege in our society--publicly supported higher education.

The dirt paths of our early history have given way to the brick paths of today. Along the way the University has gone from buying its first piece of scientific equipment, a compass, in 1789 to creating a medical school in 1879; from passing an ordinance authorizing the admission of women to postgraduate work in 1897 to women outnumbering men on campus in 1979; from admitting its first black undergraduates in 1955 to appointing its first black full professor in 1969.

Currently, the University provides instruction in more than 100 fields of study and offers degrees in 67 baccalaureate, 88 master's and 61 doctoral programs, as well as professional degrees in business, dentistry, medicine, pharmacy, law and library science. It has a student body

J. Brooke Tyson received a BA in Journalism and Mass Communications in 1993 from UNC-CH. Tyson is Assistant Director of Communications for the University of North Carolina's Bicentennial Observance.

The sesquicentennial celebration of University Day, October 12, 1943, included a Playmakers' reenactment of the laying of the cornerstone of Old East.

of 22,597 and an annual budget of $738 million.

North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt spoke of the emergence of the University during a campaign trip in 1992. He said,"We are the people who, way back at the end of the 18th century, decided that if our new democracy was to survive and prosper, we needed to have a state university. A public university. You see, up until that time, we'd been sending our sons up to the wealthy north, to the private schools founded by the big churches ... Harvard, Yale, Princeton. But North Carolina--little, old, dirt poor North Carolina decided a public university was best. So do you know what we did? We built us a university on top of a hill, and we've been sending our sons and daughters to it ever since. That university is the University of North Carolina, and I would dare say that it's the best public university in America."

Planning Begins

Being the oldest public university, and arguably the best, the University family--faculty, students, alumni, friends and all North Carolina citizens--have a lot to celebrate and reflect upon during the Bicentennial. Former Chancellor Christopher C. Fordham II began preparation for the occasion as early as 1985. Fordham wrote Dean Richard C. Cole of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, asking him to chair an ad hoc faculty committee to assist in the planning of the forthcoming Bicentennial celebration. This ad hoc committee came to be called the Cole Commission.

The Cole Commission was charged to plan in "broad strokes" the observance of the University's Bicentennial, leaving the details to be worked out later. The group prepared a plan that set forth a series of initial goals and objectives for the Observance. These goals would later serve as the basis for the Bicentennial Observance Mission Statement.

The mission statement reads, "The Bicentennial Observance of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill commemorates the birth of public higher education, a uniquely American idea that first took root in North Carolina 200 years ago.

"The eight-month Observance begins on October 12, 1993, marking the 200th anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone of Old East, the nation's first state university building.

"During the Bicentennial, the University is hosting a variety of public events, scholarly programs and other activities designed to:

"-strengthen the bonds between the people of North Carolina and their University;

BICENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE

OPENING CEREMONIES
MONDAY, OCTOBER 11
2:00 PM Opening Lecture A Tribute to Freedom
Speaker: Mr. Li Lu, Deputy Leader of the Tian-anmen Square Demonstrations
3:00 PM Faculty Alumni Exchanges, Round One
I. Care, Cure, Cost: The University and the Health of the Public
Moderator: Kerry Kilpatrick, Chair, Health Policy and Administration
II. Environment, Development and Democracy
Moderator: Richard N. Andrews, Professor, Environmental Science and Engineering
III. Media Made America?
Moderator: Jane Brown, Professor, Journalism and Mass Communication
IV. Freedom, Free Expression and Free Debate
Moderator: Chuck Stone, Walter Spearman
4:30 PM Performing and Cultural Arts Events
I. "A Salute to the American Musical Theatre"
Terry Rhodes and Stafford Wing
Professors of Music
II. "Carolina Songs"
Clef Hangers
Student a cappella Group
III. "Step Show"
Black Greek Council
Student Organization
8:00 PM Adler Concert
Memorial Hall
$25.00 Concert Seating
$50.00 Patron Seating
(includes post concert reception at Carolina Inn with Adler, Hardin, conductor, etc.)
10:00 PM Patron Reception Carolina Inn
BICENTENNIAL UNIVERSITY DAY
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12
10:00 AM Old East Rededication
11:30 AM Speakers Bureau Debut
12:00 PM Picnic in Polk Place
1:00 PM Anniversary Lecture
"The University of North Carolina and the U.S. Presidency"
William E. Leuchtenburg
William Rand Kenan Professor
2:00 PM Davie Poplar Ceremony III Ceremony
4:00 PM Faculty Alumni Exchanges, Round Two
V. Growing Apart or Growing Together?
Moderator: Julia T. Wood, Professor, Speech Communication
VI. Science, Technology and Cultural Change
Moderator: Mary Sue Coleman, Vice-Chancellor, Graduate Studies and Research
VII. Faith, Reason, and American Values
Moderator: Warren Nord, Director, Program in Humanities and Human Values
VIII. Forging New Global Alliances: Competition, Cooperation, Survival
Moderator: John D. Kasarda, Director, Institute of Private Enterprise, Kenan-Flagler Business School
IX. Education: Preparing for the 21st Century
Moderator: Donald J. Stedman, Dean, School of Education
7:00 PM Kenan Stadium Convocation
Stadium opens at 5:30. Concessions served. Programming begins at 6:00. Televised live on Public Television at 7:00.
Throughout October 12 and 13
Campus Tours
Morehead Planetarium
Shows and Times

AUGUST 1993 TO JULY 1994

AUGUST 1993
29- Nov 7 Ackland Art Museum exhibit: "George Nick, the Chapel Hill Paintings"
SEPTEMBER
10-11 "Russia: The Ongoing Revolution" Bicentennial seminar (Greenville)
14 Bicentennial U.S. postal card issuance
15 Statewide postal card issuance: second day ceremonies
26 Association of Graduate Schools annual meeting
OCTOBER
1-Dec 31 Wilson Library exhibit: "200 Years of Student Life at UNC"
1-Nov 30 Davis Library exhibit: "The University Library"
1-2 "The American Soul" Seminar (Asheville)
8-9 School of Dentistry Bicentennial Fall Weekend
11-12 Bicentennial Opening Ceremonies-See above
14 "Healthy People 2000" School of Nursing Conf.
20 Continuing Education, Regional NUCEA Conf.
20-24 American Board of Thoracic Surgery meeting
22-23 "What Makes the South Southern?" Bicentennial seminar (Charlotte)
22-24 The Chapel Hill Colloquium in Philosophy
29-30 "The American Soul" Seminar (Washington)
29-31 "Chapel of Ease" Chapel Hill H.S.
NOVEMBER "Art and Culture" postal cachet issuance ceremony with artist Maud Gatewood (Winston-Salem)
5-6 Tri-Annual Denny Society meeting
6-7 "Chapel of Ease"
12 "UNC-CH: A Catalyst for Positive Change"

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Campus Y conference
12-13 "What Makes the South Southern?" Bicentennial seminar (New York)
30 UNC-CH School of Medicine AHEC Open House (Greensboro)

DECEMBER
1- Feb 28 Davis Library exhibit: "Chapel Hill and the University"
15 UNC-CH AHEC Open House (Asheville)

JANUARY 1994 "Freedom of Expression" postal cachet issuance ceremony with artist Bart Forbes
1-Mar 30 "Paul Green: A Centenary Exhibit"
14 Intellectual and Academic Freedom of Expression Conf.
14-15 "The State of American Government" Bicentennial Seminar (Triad)
21 "African Americans at Carolina Project" video premiere
21-22 "The Big Three: Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin" Bicentennial Seminar (Fayetteville)
22 "Changing Faces of Leadership" Conf.

FEBRUARY "Science, Technology and Health" postal cachet ceremony with David Stone
"Germanic Influences in North Carolina" Conf.
3-4 "Improving the Health of North Carolinians"
4-5 Bicentennial musical by Bland Simpson and Jack Herrick
12 Bicentennial celebration concert, UNC Symphonic Band
25-26 "Russia: The Ongoing Revolution" Bicentennial seminar (Hickory)

MARCH "Teaching and Learning" postal cachet issuance ceremony with artist Jeff MacNelly
1-Apr 30 Davis Library exhibit: "World War II and the University"
4 UNC-CH School of Medicine AHEC Open House (Raleigh)
8 UNC-CH School of Medicine AHEC Open House (Charlotte)
17 Paul Green Centennial concert
18-19 Paul Green Centennial seminar
18-19 "A Tribute to Paul Green" production
20 Cornelia Phillips Spencer Day
23-26 "A Tribute to Paul Green" production
30 UNC-CH School of Medicine AHEC Open House (Rocky Mount)
23-Apr 20 "From the Outer Banks to the Blue Ridge: A Celebration of North Carolina's Folk Traditions":
Mar 23 Secular Arts
Mar 30 Occupational Arts
Apr 9 Arts of the New Immigrants
Apr 13 Verbal Arts
Apr 20 Sacred Musical Arts

APRIL "Community" postal cachet ceremony with artist Allen Carter
1-2 Annual Medical School Weekend (Tentative)
1-June 30 Wilson Library exhibits: "They Live in Memory: Favorite UNC Faculty"
1 "The Estienne Family; and the Golden Age of Renaissance Printing"
8-10 Bicentennial PlayMakers performance of "Love Letters" by A.R. Gurney, Jr. with Eva Marie Saint and George Grizzard
8 Health Science Library Video History
9 Carolina Saturday: A Bicentennial Open House
15 Thomas Wolfe Society meeting
15-16 "The State of American Government" Bicentennial seminar (Atlanta)
16 Salute to North Carolina Dance
22-23 "The Big Three: Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin" Bicentennial seminar (Wilmington)
24 Chapel Hill Revisited: Town Celebration

MAY
8-July 15 Ackland Art Museum exhibit: "The Southern Part of Heaven: William Meade Prince Remembers"
11 UNC-CH School of Medicine AHEC Open House (Wilmington)
15 Commencement 1994: Bicentennial Finale
19-21 National Conference on State Historical Collections

JUNE
9-10 University and Society:International Perspectives on Public Policies and Institutional Reform Symposium, Vienna Austria (See Sporen, this volume)

ONGOING
Endeavors Bicentennial issue: UNC research history
Bicentennial Visitors Center: exhibit and video
"American Communities-A Photographic Approach" traveling exhibit
Bicentennial Speakers Forum
Arts 200: Teacher Education through Partnerships Outreach to N.C. High Schools
On-Campus Archaeological Excavation: A Study of Early Campus Life
Oral History of UNC-CH
Bicentennial Time Capsule: Messages for the 21st Century

"-reaffirm the University's historical commitment to free inquiry in the pursuit of knowledge;

"-lay the cornerstone for the University's third century of service to the state, nation and world."

In addition to outlining goals, the Cole report outlined the basic structure, organization and staff needed for the detailed planning of the Bicentennial Observance. The report recommended that a Bicentennial Observance Policy Committee, selected and chaired by the Chancellor, be in operation no later than 1987. The report also recommended that a Bicentennial Observance Planning Office be in place by no later than 1988 and that the office be fully staffed by the beginning of 1993.

From its formative planning the Bicentennial has been divided into two branches--the Bicentennial Observance and the Bicentennial Campaign for Carolina. The former's concern is to properly observe a historic occasion. The latter's concern is to seize upon the excitement of the Bicentennial to increase the resources of this institution.

Original plans called for a Bicentennial Observance of 16 months with a budget of $5 million. Primarily due to the recent recession, the scope for the Bicentennial Observance was scaled back. Final plans include an eight-month Observance between University Day 1993 and Commencement 1994. The total operating budget is approximately $2 million.

Under the direction of the new chancellor, Paul Hardin, ideas for Bicentennial projects were solicited from faculty, staff, students and alumni in 1988. Hardin said, "I was astounded at the response we received... More than 400 ideas were proposed."

Dr. Richard Richardson, chairman of the Bicentennial Observance, said, "These ideas arrived from across the campus and around the state. Some were exciting, some outrageous and some much too ambitious to carry out."

The Planning Office determined the feasibility of these ideas by evaluating the anniversary celebrations of other universities. A general opinion was formed about what would and would not successfully promote the mission of the Bicentennial Observance. The result is more than 100 academic, cultural and historical events planned on campus and throughout North Carolina. Three major events anchor the Bicentennial.

The signature event, which will kick off the Observance, is Opening Ceremonies on October 11-12. The ceremonies will have several highlights, including the rededication of Old East, a national historic landmark, and the Davie Poplar III Ceremony. During this latter ceremony, offsprings of the famous Poplar will be presented by Tar Heel basketball coach Dean Smith to a child from each of North Carolina's 100 counties. The presentation of the trees is symbolic of the University's service and outreach to all of North Carolina.

The two-day kickoff will reach its pinnacle on University Day, October 12, with a convocation in Kenan Stadium. A crowd of 50,000 is expected for this spectacular event, which will feature a major national address on higher education. U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley will be on hand, as will North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt, CBS News' Charles Kuralt and a processional of faculty, staff, students, alumni and representatives from universities around the world. A 15,000-member band and chorus from high schools throughout the state will perform. The event will be broadcast live on UNC Public Television.

The second major event of the Observance is "Carolina Saturday: A Bicentennial Open House." On this day, the University will open its doors to the people of North Carolina. The public will be invited to discover firsthand the research projects, laboratories, technology, libraries, performance halls, sports facilities and, most importantly, the people that comprise UNC-Chapel Hill.

Every department on campus is planning a program to highlight its work, field of study or accomplishments. Entertainment, athletic events and an international lunch will accompany the day's activities.

The Law School plans to demonstrate mock and famous trials, and the department of radiology will allow visitors to look inside the human body without conducting an operation.

The psychology department will have Sigmund Freud on hand to answer visitors' questions, and the Morehead Planetarium will allow guests to gaze through a telescope and observe the sun and planets. An archaeological excavation of campus (a year-long project) is being planned by Research Labs of Anthropology. Visitors will be invited to dig up a piece of UNC's past. The computer science department, with the aid of virtual

In the past the University of Georgia has claimed to be the first public institution of higher education. The school makes this claim based on its 1785 charter, written four years before UNC's charter. However, Georgia did not open its doors to students until 1801, six years after the UNC-Chapel Hill. Carolina was the only public university to graduate students in the 18th century.

The seal of the Bicentennial is adapted from an 1814 paper cutting by Frances Jones Hooper. The original silhouette, on display in the Southern Historical Collection of Wilson Library, is one of the earliest depictions of the Chapel Hill campus.

reality pioneer technology, will fly visitors through a molecule and walk them through the walls of a simulated room.

Similar events at the University of Texas, the University of Georgia and Stanford University attracted crowds in excess of 50,000. The planning office expects approximately 50,000 people to attend Carolina's event.

The third major Bicentennial event, 1994 Commencement, will draw the Observance to a close on May 15. Plans for this event are still in the early stages as the Observance Office works with 1994 Senior Class Officers to select a speaker of international significance.

The Bicentennial Observance will be commemorated in other ways as well. For instance, members of the Bicentennial Speakers for North Carolina, a speakers bureau comprised of outstanding UNC-CH faculty members, will travel across the state to speak to civic and community groups. Topics will range from genetics to jazz, and from Homer's Odyssey to Thomas Wolfe.

Special publications, like a 1994 photographic calendar and a postal cachet series, have been produced as collectibles. And in honor of the Bicentennial Observance, the U.S. Postal Service will issue a postal card on September 14. Millions of the postal cards will be available nationally in the fall. Gracing the card will be a rendering of Playmakers Theater, by North Carolna artist and alumnus Bob Timberlake.

Student Participation in the Observance

Students have also taken an active role in planning for the Observance. A student bicentennial committee began meeting as early as 1990. In 1991, sophomore Kevin Moran became chair of the committee, and his 70-member group has been working hard to insure a heavy emphasis on student participation.

The students decided their focus for the Observance would be "community." There were two reasons for this decision. First, part of the University's threefold mission is to serve community. Secondly, the group realized that some of the most current and pressing issues on campus are community-based, like the issues of campus safety and a free-standing Black Cultural Center.

Moran said, "The committee hopes our Bicentennial work will do something to help build a sense of community and bring diverse people together for a cause."Students have proposed many projects to help achieve this goal.

They are writing grant proposals in order to begin an annual practice of conducting a "Campus and Community" Workshop. This project would bring student leaders together at the beginning of the school year to address the concerns of the entire campus.

Another project would seek the help of faculty, staff, students and Chapel Hill residents in building a Bicentennial park located in Chapel Hill.

Whether it is a student service project, a breathtaking cultural event or a faculty member sharing his or her discoveries with a fascinated group of listeners, the Bicentennial will be a special time for the nation's first public university. During these exciting eight months, North Carolinians will be joined by all Americans in saluting the achievements of public higher education, as the cornerstone is laid for our University's third century of service to our state, nation and world.CP

Old East, renovated for the Bicentennial, is the oldest building on the UNC campus.

Reflections on Planning Education at UNC-Chapel Hill

F. Stuart Chapin, Jr.

As the Department of City and Regional Planning (DCRP) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill nears its 50th anniversary, it is timely to look back on its origins and ponder how it came to be one of the leading schools of planning in the country. My reflections examine the first thirty years of the department. They describe DCRP's beginnings and identify some highlights of planning education and urban research at Chapel Hill, and conclude with a few observations on the key strengths of the department in this period.

Planning Profession in the 1940s

What was the working environment like in city halls in those days? Where planning was an accepted part of local government, it was often outside the mainstream of decision-making. But as advocated by Robert Walker in his influential study,[1] planning was increasingly being accorded departmental status with administrative responsibilities to the city manager or mayor. Even with this change of status, planners continued to maintain a close relationship with the planning commission. With the members often chosen by city council for their political sensitivity, the commission provided the planning staff with a proving ground for new land development. The shift to a department status provided the planning office with leverage to relate land planning more directly with development functions in other departments and to involve the planner in capital budgeting.

F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., is Alumni Distinguished Professor Emeritus of City and Regional Planning, UNC-Chapel Hill. He was director of the Urban Studies Program of the Institute for Research in Social Science, 1957-69, and in 1969 founded the Center for Urban and Regional Studies. *Earlier this year, he was named a Pioneer of Planning by the American Planning Association. He now lives in the Pacific Northwest.*

How useful this shift in status proved to be depended not only on the organizational channels available to the planning office, but also on the compatibility of the planning director with the city manager or mayor and the heads of departments possessing development functions. The success of these relationships depended both on the ability of the planner to deal with the politics of city hall, and the planning staff's skill in bringing about increased efficiency and cost-saving public improvements.

Beginnings of the Department

Frank Porter Graham, the President of the University of North Carolina, was a key person in creating the new department in the 1946-7 school year. Howard W. Odum, founder and then retired Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS), and Gordon W. Blackwell, who succeeded Odum as Director of IRSS (and later became President of Florida State University and then Furman University) also played important roles in DCRP's establishment. DCRP came into existence not entirely on the initiative of Graham and the enthusiasm of Odum, nor only from the skillful guidance of Blackwell; all were essential to the department's genesis.

The indispensable figure and the catalyst in the establishment of the department was John A. Parker, known fondly to more than 1,200 alumni as "Jack." His founding vision, his imagination, and his firm hand guided development of planning education at Chapel Hill throughout his tenure as Chair (1946-1974). It is a tribute to his leadership that the University did not choose to institute the practice of rotating the chair in DCRP until after his retirement.

The title of the degree, as conferred by the department and formally adopted by the Board of Trustees, was the Masters of Regional Planning. This reflected an

expectation by Graham, Odum and Blackwell that regional planning might eventually be a DCRP emphasis. After all, Chapel Hill was widely recognized at the time for Odum's work in southern regionalism. Moreover, the nearby Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was then at the peak of its fame as an experiment in regional development and had provided consultation on the creation of the Department.

Even though there was a strong preference for a regional focus, Jack Parker persuaded Graham, Odum and Blackwell that the program should initially emphasize urban planning.[2] As a consultant to TVA in the summer of 1946, he had made a survey of planning agencies in the Southeast and understood the potential of regional planning. The survey made clear to him, however, that the job market for graduates of a planning program was primarily in an urban rather than a regional setting. State planning in this period was on the wane as a result of the demise of the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), which had previously funded most state planning agencies. The state planning agencies that survived the loss of NRPB support, concentrated on local planning assistance, the kind of program pioneered under contracts between TVA and Tennessee and Alabama. Limited job opportunities continued to exist with planning consultant firms and urban-redevelopment agencies. However, the primary market for graduates remained city planning agencies.

Structure of the Curriculum

One goal of the new department was to provide the student with the knowledge and analytical methods needed to be a successful urban planner. The immediate priority was to settle on the courses considered essential for on-the-job effectiveness of graduates. Nine planning courses were approved by the Graduate School for the start of the program, with other university courses also available to DCRP students. By 1949, the planning course listings consisted of a course on planning and government, a planning legislation course, a planning seminar (the equivalent of the present-day course in planning theory), courses on methods of land use planning, transportation planning and infrastructure planning (then known as "municipal facilities"), four application courses, a summer internship, and a thesis. In addition, a course in statistics was required of students who had not taken one as an undergraduate. The remaining four courses in the two-year professional master's degree requirement were electives.[3]

In many respects, the centerpiece of this curriculum was the series of four applications courses. These provided the student with practice in applying the knowledge and methods learned in the lecture courses to real-world situations. In the first applications course, a student designed a residential subdivision for a chosen topographic site, developed cut and fill estimates for streets, and estimated costs of street improvements. In the next course, the student designed a new town, extending the principles from the subdivision problem to an entire model community.

In the third-term applications course, teams of two or three students undertook demonstration studies in the preparation of a comprehensive plan for different North and South Carolina cities. These studies culminated in a public presentation in city hall in which team members fielded questions and defended their proposals. For the fourth term applications course, each student prepared a demonstration study of neighborhood renewal. The project culminated in presentations to residents and city officials which included design proposals, general estimates of costs, and information on grants and loans under existing federal programs.

The last two applications projects not only emphasized planning analysis and design but also practice in the development of graphic and oral presentation skills. Much of the readiness of cities in the Carolinas to develop comprehensive plans under subsequently available federal funding (the so-called "701 Program" under the Housing Act of 1954) can be traced to these demonstration studies.

Periods in DCRP's Development

There are many factors affecting the way a school evolves, factors such as the time in history it is founded, the resources available for faculty and for student aid, the vision of the faculty and how it is translated into an education mission, and the intellectual setting in which the school is located. As I look back on changes in the department over the first 30 years, it seems clear that the interrelationship between research and teaching has played a very important role in shaping the early years of DCRP. Although I have not been able to follow Department developments in the past 15 years, I am sure this interdependence continues to this day. In any event, I turn now to some distinct eras of research and teaching in the evolution of DCRP.

The First Ten Years (1947-1957)

Though there were five graduate students signed up to begin their two-year master's program in September 1946 when Jack Parker arrived to take up residence in Chapel Hill, the formal approval of the planning curriculum was not achieved until 1947. James M. Webb, the second new faculty member arrived in January 1947, and I arrived in the fall of 1949. Although faculty from other departments taught several courses for the Department, DCRP consisted of only three faculty members for the next dozen years or so. Over this period, student enrollment in the program increased gradually from five to about 20 per class.

In the first ten years, an unstated mission of research was to examine knowledge available from planning practice, identify weaknesses, strengths and gaps, and develop approaches for improving this knowledge. During this period, the Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS) was an important resource to DCRP, not only counseling the department on policy and practices of the University, but also steering the faculty toward funding opportunities in research and providing research assistantships during DCRP's lean years.

Stuart Chapin discusses one of the Department's first research projects with his students.

In the first couple of years, research centered on developing material for courses in the curriculum, often with the help of student research assistants with financial aid from IRSS. As outside funding became available, more ambitious work was undertaken. Several studies were funded under contracts with federal agencies in the early fifties. A Housing and Home Finance Agency-supported study focused on the urbanization of the rural area surrounding the Atomic Energy Commission's Savannah River facility then under construction in South Carolina. Also undertaken at this time were two projects with U.S. Air Force funding, one concerned with daytime/nighttime differentials in the distribution of population in metropolitan areas, and the other with the theory and practice of city and regional planning in the Soviet Union.

IRSS's weekly luncheon sessions were especially helpful to DCRP faculty in opening up communication with the University's social science faculty. An Urban Studies Committee, consisting of faculty from planning, political science, economics and sociology was formed out of these sessions. In the course of a two-year period of fortnightly seminars, this committee developed an interdisciplinary research schema on urban processes, which subsequently became the basis for a research proposal submitted to the Ford Foundation.

In 1957, UNC-Chapel Hill was awarded the Foundation's first major grant in its newly established program in urban affairs. One part of the five-year grant was to focus on urbanization processes in the Piedmont Industrial Crescent extending from Raleigh, NC, to Greenville, SC; a second part was to advance communications between universities in the South engaged in urban research. These two parts were administered through IRSS. A third part, under the auspices of the Institute of Government, concerned research interpretation for local action groups.

While these developments were evolving in research, planning education was also making notable strides. Early research in land-use planning went directly into the course in land-use analysis as well as into the third term applications course. Studies on the role of the planner in urban development provided case material for the course on planning and government.[4]

Faculty involvement in the Urban Studies Committee and subsequent work on the Ford Foundation grant, demonstrated the importance of initiating steps toward offering a doctorate in planning. The increase in the number of student applications for admission to the planning program over the ten-year period and the need for additional course offerings showed that DCRP was ready for expansion in faculty, classroom space and other facilities.

Takeoff (1958-1968)

The Ford Foundation grant provided resources for major interdisciplinary urban research involving 20 faculty in planning, political science, economics and sociology and included new funding for research assistantships in these same fields. It provided an unparalleled experience for faculty and research assistant interchange in the social sciences. The summary volume of this five-year effort covered four focal areas:[5] (1) the economic vari-

ables of urban growth in the Crescent; (2) political and business leadership patterns in community decision-making, including the role of the planner, various interest groups and African-Americans in political action; (3) the attitudes of people living in Crescent cities about urban growth, their perception of problems, and their participation in political action aimed at solving problems; and (4) studies of the spatial extent of growth and factors associated with the direction and intensity of city expansion into the countryside.

In retrospect, DCRP may have been a greater beneficiary of the Urban Studies Program than any of the other fields represented. Not only did this program represent a quantum leap forward in DCRP faculty research but it had many other benefits. It drew many visitors to Chapel Hill from each of the fields involved in the program. Some were inquisitive about the scope of the program and came because they were initiating their own programs in urban affairs and were interested in evaluating the strengths and weaknesses in such an ambitious interdisciplinary program. Others came as consultants to various studies. Visitors of special interest to planning such as Martin Meyerson, Harvey Perloff, Jack Dyckman, Richard Meier, Norton Long and Allen Feldt, gave seminars for the department.

The land development research conducted during the period of Ford Foundation support became the basis for future grants and contracts extending this work further. From 1962 to 1965, a model for simulating the growth of residential areas in a city was developed and tested under financing from the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads. Residual funds from the Urban Studies Program supported a study of living quality in the city for the elderly. Other research funded under a series of grants from the U.S. Public Health Service, studied the roles of various agents affecting the supply side of residential development and household activity in time and space, essentially considerations affecting the demand side of residential development. Also during this period, five DCRP faculty members carried out a national study of residential moving behavior under a contract from the National Cooperative Highway Research Program.

The advent of the Urban Studies Program provided a clear demonstration of opportunities for a doctoral program in planning. With coaching from Graduate School Dean Alexander Heard (later to become President of Vanderbilt University), Jack Parker shepherded the Ph.D. proposal through UNC-Chapel Hill's approval process and the Consolidated University review where negotiations with other units of the University system were finally cleared. The Ph.D. program was approved by the Board of Trustees in 1961. With the availability of research assistantships in the Urban Studies Program and five National Defense Education Act fellowships, the first doctoral students entered the Ph.D. program in the following year. The basic mission of this program came to be much as it is today: to train top-quality and highly motivated teachers and research scholars in planning.

Besides being the launching period for the Ph.D. program, the first half of the sixties was a period of change in the master's program as well. Core courses were improved--the course in planning theory was overhauled, and the Department introduced its own course in quantitative methods, including both statistics and mathematical modeling. Because many students looked toward jobs in metropolitan planning agencies, the third term applications course focused on a large metropolitan area: the surrounding areas of Washington, D.C.[6] During this period the master's thesis was replaced by a Departmental Paper and, while the internship continued to be recommended, it had been dropped as a requirement.

The mid-sixties was a transition time in other ways as well. It was a time when the almost exclusive emphasis on urban planning was giving way to a growing number of new concentrations which required additions to the faculty. With new faculty and resulting need for addi-

DCRP moved to its present location, New East, in the early 1960s.

tional office and classroom space, DCRP went through a series of moves which eventually resulted in the Department settling in renovated space in the New East Building.[7]

From 1965 to 1969, DCRP nearly doubled its faculty.[8] In 1965 George Hemmens, who had been on the faculty earlier, returned and was pivotal in establishing the Department's computer laboratory, made possible under the University's "Centers of Excellence" grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF). He also provided leadership in reorganizing offerings in planning theory at both the MRP and Ph.D. levels. The NSF grant enabled the department to hire Emil Malizia in 1969 to develop course offerings in economic development. The same grant provided support for a position in transportation planning.

In connection with an Environmental Health Training Program of the U.S. Public Health Service, it was possible to bring Maynard Hufschmidt to the Department in 1965. His courses in public investment theory and techniques subsequently provided the beginnings of a specialization in regional planning and resource management.[9] With David Moreau's addition to the faculty in 1968 and his interest in water resources, the resource management option became a full area of concentration.

Edward Kaiser joined the faculty in 1966 and became a key contributor to the core course in quantitative methods and courses in land use planning. Michael Stegman was brought to the Department in 1968 to develop an area of concentration in housing.

New Directions (1969-1978)

Social and political developments in the sixties pushed planning schools in new directions. The outbreak of civil disturbances in cities across the country fired interest in social policy as new attention centered on inner city issues such as job creation, urban renewal and housing. Earth Day in 1971 further expanded the field, eventually including air and water quality and concern for the protection of wetlands, riparian areas, wildlife habitat and coastal dunes.

Although new specializations in regional and environmental planning and resource management were already in place at Chapel Hill, it was not until 1969 that the department was able to obtain resources for an area of concentration in social policy planning. A National Institute of Mental Health Training Grant financed two new faculty positions and several non-service fellowships, and by 1970 social policy planning became a part of the curriculum. The required courses for this concentration were the same as all others, but the applications courses emphasized service delivery and preparation for work in inner city community action programs. As the specialization evolved, students often took courses in other areas, especially urban planning and housing.

During this period the Ford Foundation expanded the financial support available to minority students by funding a non-service fellowship program. The department also received a Mellon Foundation grant enabling support for new faculty and student fellowships. In the period 1969 to 1970, David Godschalk joined the faculty, focusing on participatory planning, environmental planning, and land use planning in coastal areas. In 1970, Shirley Weiss moved from the Center for Urban and Regional Studies to head the Department's new undergraduate honors programs in urban affairs and to teach courses in central business area and new towns. Edward Bergman joined the faculty in 1972, sufficiently augmenting the course offerings in economic development to make this a new area of concentration.

The early seventies was a period of flux in the Department.[10] Each new DCRP catalog outlined a new mix of concentrations available to incoming students. Between 1967 and 1969, students could choose between three concentrations--urban planning, regional planning and housing/social policy. By 1973-75 five areas of concentrations were available to masters students--urban planning, regional planning, environmental planning, social-policy planning, and economic development. Urban design was briefly offered as an option, as was environmental-health planning under a joint program with the School of Public Health. Another reflection of the department's flux had to do with the content of core courses. During the 1969-70 academic year, an integrated two-semester course was team taught as an experiment. In the following year, the original theory and quantitative methods core courses were reinstated.

The transition to a rotating Chair of the Department in 1974 went smoothly. By this time a great deal of the Department's work was distributed to the faculty through committees. To stabilize both the faculty and masters and doctoral programs, George Hemmens, the new Chair, used the existing committee system. During his four-year tenure, several joint programs were created, including the joint program in law and planning.

Faculty research grew during this ten-year period. In 1969, the Urban Studies Program, previously administered by IRSS, became the Center for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS), an independent entity reporting directly to the Provost. In response to urban problems beginning to surface in cities across the state, the 1969 session of the North Carolina General Assembly appropriated funds to the Consolidated University for urban research and extension services. The new line item in the UNC-Chapel Hill budget provided CURS firm funding and allowed recruitment of a permanent staff. Jonathan Howes was brought to Chapel Hill in 1970 as the new CURS director.

Creation of CURS supported research into land

development and urban issues the original focus of the department. Shirley Weiss and Edward Kaiser completed their widely respected studies of entrepreneurial decisions in the residential development process by landowners, real estate agents, financial intermediaries, land developers, and homebuilders.[11] With help in the field from participant-observers and survey-research associates, I carried out a study on household activity patterns in metropolitan Washington, D.C..[12] Edward Kaiser, with Maynard Hufschmidt and others, prepared a widely distributed study on how urban planning and land use regulations contributed to environmental protection.[13]

The 1960s and 1970s saw the Department expand its diversity.

In the early seventies, Shirley Weiss, with Raymond Burby, Edward Kaiser and others, undertook the first major evaluation of new towns in America.[14] David Brower participated in a major review of urban growth management for the Urban Land Institute, and with a team of planning and law students, followed this with a study of development timing as a means of managing urban growth.[15] Brower and David Godschalk went on to examine constitutional issues in growth management with the assistance of another team of students.[16]

Research in the Department from 1946 to 1978 has been especially useful for teaching urban planning, particularly in providing case studies and demonstrations of methods of analysis. But teaching and research are interdependent. Lack of case materials, inadequacies in methods, or simply gaps in approaches available for classroom use have also spurred new research. For instance the study on the decision-making behavior of entrepreneurs and the investigation of household activities and moving behavior provided the means of explaining in the classroom the behavioral factors at work in residential land use models.

DCRP's Strengths and a Final Note

In putting together this review of the Department during the period of my nearly thirty years at Chapel Hill, I developed some very clear conclusions about the strengths of DCRP. I list them without elaboration. Whether they have validity for charting future directions is left to the reader closer to the Chapel Hill scene.

Number one, the Department has been very alert to change in the field and, indeed, has paced change as the curriculum has evolved. Second, the Department has always closely monitored the job market and has kept the curriculum abreast of the requisite knowledge and skills necessary for students to qualify in that market. Number three, DCRP has assiduously searched out and pursued private and governmental research and training grants which consequentially enhanced both teaching and research. Fourth, the Department has given close attention to student recruitment and has been aggressive in searching out sources of student financial aid. Number five, the collegial atmosphere that has prevailed among the faculty has been a hallmark of the Department -- no fiefdoms, no dissident wings. Finally, department chairs have played a strong leadership role in building each of the above listed strengths.

Now let me note what I consider to be the great challenge to the Department and the planning field in the future. For some time it has been clear that advances in science, technology and medicine have prolonged life expectancy the world over, and agricultural improvements have made it possible to feed more people. The global increases in population, particularly in developing countries, and rising expectations for an improved quality of life increase pressure for access to a better life through economic opportunities--pressure that can break through national boundaries.

The magnitude of population growth and migrations and the scale of economic expansion that will be required to accommodate this growth, will have a profound impact on a finite land supply and on all resources. Add to this the recently-discovered hole in the protec-

tive layers of the atmosphere and its implications for global change in the environment for all living things. It may be that the planning field can have very limited influence on these matters.

Despite the apparent intractability of these problems, I hope the planning field will "make no little plans." In preparing students for job opportunities, planning education must also prepare them for the great challenges already upon us. It is my hope that DCRP will be constantly addressing the big issues in each round of curriculum review, not only in the design of core courses, but also in the selection of areas of concentration and courses that go with them. DCRP must choose carefully where it allocates its resources and select options and courses which are not only uniquely appropriate in a planning curriculum today but which also emphasize the creative use of planning theory and method in addressing monumental changes to come.CP

Notes

[1] Robert Walker (1941). *The Planning Function in Urban Government*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[2] For an excellent source of information on Parker's negotiations in the establishment of the Department, see Francis H. Parker (no relation), "Genesis of the Department of City and Regional Planning," a manuscript dated April 12, 1974. Parker did not reject out of hand this great interest in regional planning at Chapel Hill. In 1947, jointly with Odum, Blackwell and TVA he organized a symposium to explore the possiblity of developing a curriculum in regional planning in the new Department. With the help of political scientist John Gaus, the preeminent authority at that time on regional government, the state of regional planning was debated. The conclusion was that the field was not yet well enough defined and it was premature to undertake such a program.

[3] In these early years, Jack Parker's constant attention to enhancing course offerings brought to Chapel Hill some of the leading people in the field at that time including Lewis Mumford, Hugh Pemeroy (then Westchester County planner), Hans Blumenfield (then a planner with the Philadelphia City Planning Commission) and Sam Zisman (a planner from San Antonio).

[4] Jack Parker's work on the role of the planner in local government was prompted by the lack of objective knowledge about what factors govern the effectiveness of planners on the job. My own research interests at that time were strongly influenced by the relatively underdeveloped state of land use planning methods I found in planning practice. There was a clear need to replace the dependence on subjectivity with more objective methods in planning analyses. This was a primary mission of the first edition of *Urban Land Use Planning* (1957). New York: Harper & Brothers.

[5] F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., and Shirley F. Weiss, eds. (1962). *Urban Growth Dynamics*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

[6] These field studies were dropped soon thereafter. In 1967, the Department petitioned the Graduate School and received approval to drop a specfied list of seven courses as prerequisites for graduation, among them the applications courses. These changes reduced the registration in field-related courses which, as electives, were refocused into exercises without time-consuming field investigations.

[7] By 1965, after several years of pressure on the University Administration for more space to house the Department, Jack Parker succeeded in arranging for a move from Alumni Building to more ample quarters in New East Building. Then, a NSF Research Facilities grant and a State appropriation provided funds to remodel New East, and for more than a year DCRP "camped out" in New West while New East was remodeled.

[8] Faculty who were with DCRP for short periods of two or three years are not identified in this account. Most of the faculty named from here on are still with the Department.

[9] During the academic year 1965-6, a symposium on regional planning was organized by Hufschmidt. See Maynard M. Hufschmidt, ed. (1969). *Regional Planning: Challenge and Prospects*,New York: Praeger. In some respects this revisited issues raised in the symposium held during the first years of the Department. In the intervening period, a new area of concentration had become apparent, one focusing on regional planning and resource management.

[10] Francis H. Parker's "Planning Education at Chapel Hill--A Decade of Incremental Progress," a manustript dated April 30, 1974, discussed what he termed "an identity crisis" among faculty in regard to specialization issues and core courses. Some of the sources of foment he attributed to "a form of qualified opportunism" in the way major grants were accquired. He observed, however, that "the Department as a whole never collectively decided on new directions to pursue or new areas in which to seek grants." But he also pointed out that there was always a full commitment among the faculty to "each new grant and program to build the Department rather than fragment it."

[11] These Studies were issued in a series of research monographs and memoranda from 1963 to 1969 under the Urban Studies Program, IRSS and reissued by the Center for Urban and Regional Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[12] F. Stuart Chapin, Jr. (1974). *Human Activity Patterns in the City*, New York: Wiley Interscience, John Wiley & Sons.

[13] Edward J. Kaiser and others (1974). *Promoting Environmental Quality Through Urban Planning and Controls, Report No. EPA-600/5-73, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.*

[14] Raymond J. Burby and Shirley F. Weiss with others (1976). *New Communities USA*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books of D.C. Heath and Company. A series of topical reports coming out of this work by members of the research team are published in a research monograph series by Ballinger Publishing Company.

[15] David J. Brower and others (1996). *Urban Growth Management Through Development Timing*, New York: Praeger.

[16] David R. Godschalk and others (1977). *Constitutional Issues of Growth Management*, Chicago: The ASPO Press.

Preservation Planning for Archaeological Resources at the University of North Carolina

Patricia M. Samford

In a recent article on campus planning, the journal *Architecture* summarized some of the current issues facing academic institutions, forecasting that indicators of declining enrollment in the 1990s have made college administrators eager to improve their facilities as a means of attracting students (Anonymous 1991:37). This improvement often entails the construction of new buildings, particularly science and technology centers. While monographs and articles on university planning generally stress the need for master plans which take into account factors such as projected growth, costs, effective land management, visual uniqueness, and transportation (Dober 1992, Freeman et al., 1992, Junker 1990), preservation planning often receives little more than lip service. Pointing out this obvious oversight, Stephen Chambers (1990) has addressed the need for preserving structures, green spaces and archaeological resources of historical significance in his recent article on university preservation planning. While structures deemed to be of historic significance to academic institutions are more likely to receive consideration by university planners, archaeological resources are rarely given any attention.

Preservation planning became an important concept in the early 1980s, under encouragement by federal agencies concerned with cultural resource planning at the state level (Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1980). The model outlined by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service called for the creation of state resource protection plans which identify important cultural resources, formulate research objectives, and create operating plans which make specific recommendations for managing these resources[1]. Although intended for a broader level of planning, the same model could be applied to preservation planning at a university level. This paper will demonstrate how this approach could be applied at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, by showing how a project currently underway there could be expanded into a preservation plan for archaeological resources on University-owned land.

Patricia Samford is currently enrolled as a graduate student in the doctoral program in Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Prior to this, she was a staff archaeologist for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Bicentennial Project

Between the fall of 1993 and the spring of 1994, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will be celebrating its Bicentennial Observance, commemorating its position as the nation's first public university. While many people are aware of the historical importance of visible campus symbols, such as the Davie Poplar and the Old Well, few realize that a great deal of this history lies buried beneath university soil as archaeological sites. One project currently underway on campus illustrates the importance of identifying, recording and protecting the University's archaeological resources. This multi-phase project, conducted by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology in conjunction with the Bicentennial Observance, began with the identification of potential sites through preliminary background research of historical sources. Early maps of the campus, university records, secondary source materials and oral history[2] were used to provide a "short list" of potential sites of archaeological interest (Steponaitis, 1991). As a result, fifteen potential areas of interest which identify important cultural resources, formulate research objectives, and create operating plans which make specific recommendations for managing these resources were located, largely within the confines of the original campus (Carnes-McNaughton, 1991). Surface

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ON THE UNC CAMPUS

Of the archaeological sites discovered during preliminary testing, three have been chosen for more extensive examination. In-depth background research has been conducted for these three sites, recovering information which reveals the close connection between the University and the community of Chapel Hill.

The village of Chapel Hill was chartered by an act of the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1789 in conjunction with the founding of the University of North Carolina. The location of the university was planned along the summit of a high plateau and the buildings included in the first campus plan were organized around an open green. While virtually all of these first planned buildings still survive and some have recently been restored to their original appearance, others survive only as archaeological sites. One of these was known as Steward's Hall. This building, which stood in the vicinity of New East and Davie, was the University's first dining hall. Renowned among the students for its terrible food and cockroaches, Steward's Hall was dismantled and moved in 1847. A second area for which excavation has been planned is in McCorkle Place. It is believed that artifacts and architectural remains associated with an encampment of Union troops at the close of the Civil War may be found there.

The site that is currently scheduled for the most extensive excavation, however, is the former location of the Eagle Hotel. Originally constructed between 1793 and 1797 as a tavern, this building, during its lifetime, served primarily as accommodations for visitors to the campus and as lodgings for university students. Taverns were an important feature of life in 18th and 19th century towns, serving as centers of communication and socializing, as well as places where lodging, food and drink could be provided to travelers and residents. The Eagle Hotel became particularly renowned under the ownership of Miss Nancy Hilliard. In addition to running a successful boarding house for students, Miss Hilliard was also hostess to President James Polk when he returned to the campus to give the commencement address in 1847. A special annex was added to the hotel to house the president and his party (Figure 1). After its demise by fire in 1921, the site of the Eagle Hotel remained largely untouched, providng archaeologists with an ideal opportunity for excavation. Testing here has revealed possible evidence of the fire, as well as pottery and glass dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Excavations on one or more of these properties will begin in the fall of 1993, under the supervision of Dr. Vin Steponaitis, director of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology.

inspection of areas believed to contain sites was also conducted as part of the first phase of investigation.

The second phase of the project involved soil augering and test excavations at the locations identified in the first phase of research. Not only did this aid in more precisely determining the locations of the sites, but also their soil stratigraphy and general condition. In some instances, testing allowed certain areas to be ruled out as potential locations for future excavation due to damage incurred through more recent construction or landscaping. As a result of the soil augering and testing, the original list of fifteen sites was narrowed down to three sites which are currently under consideration for more intensive archaeological excavation. More complete documentary research has been undertaken for these three sites, focusing on recovering information detailing physical and functional changes to the properties through time, as well as the roles they played in the history of the university.

The third phase of this project, which will begin in the fall of 1993 and continue through the following spring, will be the excavation of one or more of these sites. The excavations will be run by the faculty, staff and graduate students of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology. Since the investigations will be held in conjunction with a two-semester class in historical archaeology, the excavators will consist primarily of UNC students, supplemented with local volunteers. (See box at left)

Development of a Comprehensive Archaeological Preservation Plan

While this bicentennial project was not initially conceived of in terms of a comprehensive preservation planning tool for University of North Carolina land, it could easily serve as a springboard for developing such a plan, with the crucial first step being the creation of a comprehensive list of archaeological sites. This inventory would encompass not only the immediate campus, but University-owned lands such as the Mason Farm Tract located south of campus. While archival research would identify a large number of the sites dating forward from the time of the first European settlement in the area in the 18th century, references to prehistoric sites, as well as some historic period sites, would not be contained within documents. Therefore, the documentary research would have to be supplemented with an archaeological reconnaissance survey, which consists of placing small shovel test holes or soil augers at systematic intervals over the property in question. Such a survey would serve the dual purpose of locating undocumented sites, as well as verifying the presence of documented archaeological resources. More extensive testing at locations which contain sites would provide information on site function, dating, and boundaries, as well as the presence of intact archaeological features, such as

remains of building foundations, trash pits and burials.

Identifying and evaluating university-owned archaeological sites, however, is only an important first step. Merely knowing where archaeological sites are located does not provide for their protection. This inventory would be used in conjunction with other sources of information, such as primary and secondary historical documents, oral histories and site predictive models to develop a research design outlining archaeological preservation needs and research. The formulation of such a research design could be used to evaluate the significance of various types of sites. For example, archaeological excavation to date may have yielded a large body of information about certain types of sites, while much less is known about others. Prioritizing the sites based on this and other factors will simplify decision-making processes in situations where some archaeological sites may need to be sacrificed in order to save others. A preservation plan would provide archaeologists and planners with a framework for decision-making about archaeological resources on academic property.

A plan such as this, however, cannot work in isolation from other procedures or plans within the university. To date, relationships between archaeologists and planners have generally been uneasy at best and at times adversarial. Additionally, some planners still remain oblivious to archaeology. Archaeologists may appear in the latter stages of the planning process and are perceived as obstructionists standing in the path of development plans. As a result, some planners and developers resist working with archaeologists. Archaeologists, too, are often insensitive to the needs of planners. This does not have to be the case. Archaeologists will need to work in close conjunction with other departments, such as development and facilities maintenance, to formulate and implement an effective strategy for managing archaeological resources. If both parties took the time to learn the objectives and work methods of the other, some problems could be avpoded.

The sometimes practiced policy of two or three day notification in advance of ground-disturbing activity, while providing archaeologists with the opportunity to record archaeological resources as they are being destroyed, is not a satisfactory arrangement for either the archaeologist or the planner. When important archaeological remains are encountered, costly construction delays often ensue while archaeologists record their findings. Archaeological sites are a nonrenewable resource--once they have been disturbed or destroyed, the information which they contained can never be reconstructed. Developing research strategies which can best address questions to be asked of the archaeological resources requires advance planning. When taken into consideration during planning phases, protecting or recovering archaeological information can usually be accomplished at little or no cost to the developers.

This could be accomplished by involving archaeologists in the planning phases of development. This initial involvement generally opens several options for negotiation between planners and archaeologists. In some instances, utility routes or building positions can be altered to take locations of archaeological sites into account. If construction plans cannot be altered, involvement in the initial stages of planning allows archaeologists time to formulate and implement strategies for recovering archaeological information well in advance of actual construction. An important step would be plotting the locations of all known archaeological sites and archaeologically sensitive areas on a base map which would be used by planners. Additionally, attendance by a university-affiliated archaeologist at facilities planning meetings would be a way to begin implementation of this process. This procedure has been used successfully for some years in a large outdoor museum setting by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. As a result, a productive working relationship has evolved between the Department of Architecture and Engineering and the Department of Archaeological Research. Archaeological site locations are considered a factor in development planning and if future work cannot allow for the in-place preservation of a site, enough time exists for planning and executing the recovery of its information.

Preservation Planning: Two examples from UNC-CH

Two recent examples at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill show how different approaches to the preservation of University archaeological resources can have very different results. The Mason Farm tract, located south of campus is the current location of the Finley Golf Course and the North Carolina Botanical Gardens. Although a systematic archaeological survey of this property has not been conducted to date, the Mason Farm property is very archaeologically sensitive, with nine known archaeological sites located within or adjacent to the property (Ward, 1992a). In the 1940s, Research Laboratories of Anthropology Director Joffre Coe partially excavated one of these sites (31Or4d). There, the excavations revealed a prehistoric Native American village containing significant pit features dating from the period AD 1000-1400 (Ward, 1992a). Sometime in the 1980s, a sewer line was placed through this known site, causing the destruction of unknown amounts of archaeological information. Although the site location was on file at the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, the environmental review process failed to protect this important site. Better cooperation between planners, developers, and archaeologists could have prevented this destruction.

A second example, however, illustrates how communication and cooperation between departments can result in satisfactory results for all parties involved. During planning stages for the construction of a new greenhouse on the Mason Farm property, the staff of the North Carolina Botanical Gardens contacted the Research Laboratories about determining the existence of any archaeological sites on the proposed building location. Prior to construction, the Research Laboratories of Anthropology inspected the proposed location and found no significant archaeological remains (Ward, 1992b).

The cost of implementing a preservation plan is sure to be an important concern. With rising costs and declining enrollment, university administrators can argue convincingly that excavating archaeological sites might not be the most effective use of university funds. However, while the benefits of a preservation plan would be immense in terms of educational and public relations opportunities, the cost to universities for the development of such a plan can be negligible. Much of the proposed archaeological reconnaissance survey and background research could be accomplished in conjunction with class requirements, providing educational opportunities to students as well as creating an important database. In addition to providing information about the history of the university in question, and, more broadly, about local and regional development, preservation planning could be a potentially valuable public relations tool for the university. The placement of planned excavations, in some of the most public areas on campus, make them an ideal opportunity to educate the faculty, students, visitors and the public about archaeology and the importance of preserving archaeological resources. Local historical societies are a wealth of information and in many cases could provide volunteers for research or excavation. As discussed previously, working with archaeologists well in advance of actual construction will also avoid expensive delays.

Although subsequent university development will have damaged and in many cases destroyed these early archaeological remains, numerous archaeological projects in even the heaviest developed urban areas have shown that significant archaeological resources can still exist[3] It is almost certain that important archaeological resources, not only relating to the history of the university, but to the early history of Chapel Hill, have already been lost through construction and other similar damage. For example, the area of Chapel Hill first settled by

Figure 1. The Polk Annex of the Eagle Hotel built for President James Polk's 1847 visit.

European-Americans is believed to have been at the present location of the Carolina Inn. The creation of an inventory through archival research and archaeological testing would provide some indication of what resources have been lost in this fashion.

The focus of university preservation planning need not and should not be restricted to the history of the university. In the case of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as with many other universities, the appearance of the area before the establishment of the University would also be of interest. In the late 18th century, this area was known as New Hope Chapel Hill and the only known development in the area at that time consisted of a mill, blacksmith shop and a chapel of the Church of England (Battle, 1907:27). Colleges in colonial America, while modelled after English medieval universities, were often placed in remote areas, where towns and cities grew up around them. This differed from their English counterparts, which were founded in established urban areas (Turner 1984:4). The effects of American universities on the growth and development of the surrounding area is an interesting and important topic of research, since an "awareness of history and culture is not merely a nicety in planning, it is basic to understanding the community" (Hartley 1993:30). The importance of understanding the growth and development of the university is an integral key to understanding the town of Chapel Hill, since it was in conjunction with the University that the town appeared.

Conclusion

As the first public, state-supported university in the nation, the University of North Carolina truly occupies a unique position among academic institutions. At a time of increased likelihood of future campus development, university officials cannot afford to ignore its important and nonrenewable archaeological resources. This year of bicentennial observances, when the history of the university is at the forefront, is an ideal time to begin thinking about the assessment and long-term preservation of the university's archaeological resources. A properly conceived and executed preservation plan that includes the responsible management of archaeological resources can be beneficial for the institution, its students and the surrounding community. The time seems ripe for developing a university-wide program that could potentially be extended to other campuses within the University of North Carolina system.CP

References

Anonymous. Academic Excellence. *Architecture*. Volume 80, No. 1, January 1991. p. 37.

Battle, Kemp Plummer. *History of the University of North Carolina, Volume I*. Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1907.

Carnes-McNaughton, Linda. "Summary of Research Notes for Bicentennial Archaeology Project." Unpublished manuscript on file at Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1991.

Chambers, Stephen L. "Establishing a Historic Preservation Framework Within Campus Management and Planning.", *Planning for Higher Education*, Volume 18, No. 4, 1990. pp. 3-18.

Freeman, Alan Charles, William D'Elia and Kimberley Woodard. "New Town-Gown Planning.", *Planning for Higher Education*, Volume 21, Fall 1992. pp. 25-31.

Hartley, Michael O. "Planning as an Historic Resource: An Example from the Western Piedmont of North Carolina.", *Carolina Planning*, Volume 18, No. 2, 1993. pp. 25-30.

Helsper, Hermke,Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. *Resource Protection Planning Process*. Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, Washington D.C., 1980.

Junker, C. Anthony. "Managing the College's Real Estate.", *Planning for Higher Education*, Volume 19, Fall 1990. pp. 23-26.

Steponaitis, Vincas P. "An Archaeological Study of Early Campus Life in Chapel Hill." Project proposal on file at the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1991.

Turner, Paul Venable. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1984.

Ward, H. Trawick. "A Summary Assessment of Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of Mason Farm." Unpublished report on file at the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, May 1992.

Ward, H. Trawick. Letter to Charlotte A. Jones-Roe, dated October 6, 1992. Letter on file at the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1992.

Notes

1. Cultural resources can include all sites, buildings, structures, localities and features which have been made, altered or used by humans. This paper addresses primarily archaeological resources.
2. William S. Powell, professor emeritus, of the UNC-CH History Department was interviewed on May 23, 1991.
3. A recent and important example of this is the large 18th-century African-American slave cemetery recently excavated in downtown Manhattan. Details of this excavation can be located in an article entitled "Bones and Bureaucrats; New York's Great Cemetery Imbroglio" in the March/Arpil 1993 issue of *Archaeology* magazine.

Universities and Community Development: Three Case Studies from North Carolina

Isaac Heard, Jr.

Universities and colleges can influence the planning and economic development of their host communities through a number of vehicles. They can become partners with the municipality in which they reside, act independently through a for-profit agent, or act through a not-for-profit agent such as a community development corporation (CDC). Where there is an established community bordering on the campus, the university is very likely to participate in a community-based development corporation.

This article gives a brief overview of some aspects of community economic development efforts that are associated with various universities. Particular emphasis is placed on the outcomes of such efforts that are associated with three schools in Mecklenburg County-the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Davidson College and Johnson C. Smith University.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, in accordance with section 102(a)(4)(c) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989, awarded four and one-half million dollars in 1992 to ten historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) from an applicant field of thirty-four. The objective of this HUD program is "...to help HBCUs expand their role and effectiveness in addressing community development needs, including neighborhood revitalization, housing and economic development in their localities...." The 1992 recipients' projects covered a wide variety of programs including:

Isaac Heard, Jr., Executive Director of the Northwest Corridor CDC, has worked as an urban planner, a home-building company operating officer, and a business planning/research consultant in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, as well as an occasional lecturer at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He holds degrees from Dartmouth College, Harvard University and UNC-Charlotte.

- designing, developing and implementing a small business incubator;
- providing training and technical assistance for not-for-profit housing groups and community organizations;
- acquiring and rehabilitating deteriorated housing for resale or rent to low- and moderate-income people;
- constructing new infill housing for low- and moderate-income people;
- assisting private developers in the development of community retail and service opportunities;
- developing and applying a Geographic Information Systems-based analytical tool for community planning and development; and
- creating job and training opportunities for low- and moderate-income residents of public housing.

In North Carolina, Elizabeth City State University, Johnson C. Smith University, North Carolina A&T State University, and North Carolina Central University have received awards under this program. Each is conducting a variety of planning and economic development activities through the efforts of community development corporations. These institutions, at least partially, sponsor the CDCs.

Similarly, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Community Services, has developed a grant program to assist CDC's in their efforts to implement economic development in distressed communities. Bennett College in Greensboro has sponsored the formation of a community development corporation which received a $500,000 grant under this program. The CDC is developing plans to establish a retail commercial center near the campus and to offer affordable commercial space to local entrepreneurs.

The Mary Reynolds Babcock and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundations are also major regional supporters of the

efforts of universities and colleges as they engage in planning and community development. In addition, Seedco (Structured Employment/Economic Development Corporation), a New York City-based not-for-profit, has supported neighborhood partnership programs in collaboration with historically black colleges and universities. Seedco has received grants from among others, the Ford Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. In North Carolina, Seedco has formed partnerships with Johnson C. Smith University and Winston-Salem State University to fund the start-up phases of their community development corporations.

Seedco's support for planning and economic development also includes its Partnerships for Self-Sufficiency Program. Seedco has selected five cities in the Midwest where community-based organizations work with a local college or university on job training and employment. In Canton, OH, Stark Technical College and the Association for a Better Community Development, Inc. are starting a transportation-related training business. In Dayton, OH, Partners in Rebuilding Dayton (PRD) and the University of Dayton are training unemployed neighborhood youths in the construction trades. PRD is a not-for-profit corporation formed by four neighborhood development corporations.

In Lansing, MI, Seedco is working with Advent House Ministries, Michigan State University, Lansing Community College and St. Lawrence Hospital to expand an existing bakery/catering business. This partnership is also investigating starting an appliance repair and resale business. The Milwaukee-based Lisbon Avenue Neighborhood Development, Inc. (LAND) is working with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to plan the operation of a business for women on welfare. In Wausau, WI, Seedco has formed a partnership with the Hmong Mutual Association and North Central Technical College to operate an as-yet-undefined training business for Hmong refugees from Laos.

In 1992, *Rebuilding Communities: A National Study of Urban Community Development Corporations* by Avis C. Vidal of the New School of Social Research, found that 28 percent of the providers of technical assistance and support to CDC's are university-based. This support is usually provided through specialized, relatively free-standing centers such as the Pratt Institute's Center for Community and Environmental Design in New York and Cleveland State University's Center for Neighborhood Development. In North Carolina, the catalyst is usually a dynamic university president with an understanding of the relationship between the future viability of the institution and the economic, social and political viability of the communities surrounding them.

These universities, in concert with existing community resident associations, local merchants' associations, churches and the general business community, are forging the links between "town and gown" that will insure that each will survive and thrive in the future. Sometimes, it has been more than just the ties between the university and the community that have been allowed to deteriorate. Often residents with long time career and educational associations with the universities have died out and been replaced by other residents who have little stake in, or appreciation for, the resource that the university represents.

The University of North Carolina at Charlotte

By the late 1970s, the patterns of growth in Mecklenburg County had become the topic of a continuing and heated discussion. The Charlotte Mecklenburg Planning Commission, the builder/developer community and the local news media were engaged in detailed and often intense conversations about how and where major growth should be occurring. All saw the need to prevent Charlotte from becoming another example of undifferentiated urban sprawl with a declining quality of life.

After considerable discussion, a consensus was reached that more forceful action was needed to offset the rapid development occurring in the southern and southeastern portions of the county. Research by the Planning staff and University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC) geographers showed that residential and retail development clustered in a planned mixed-use community located near the campus and the University Research Park would make the area even more attractive to new employment sources. The Research Park began in the late 1960s with 750 acres and has grown to more than 2,500 acres that have been developed with over four million square feet of office and high technology uses employing more than 10,000 persons.

The UNCC/Planning Commission team identified a 240-acre tract owned by the university as the most appropriate site for this new planned mixed-use development. However, the University had planned to make use of this land for its future growth. After a planning effort that drew in not only the Planning Commission and the University but also the Research Park, the Foundation of UNCC agreed to assemble other acreage which they could exchange with the University for the target site.

Approvals for the exchange, as well as related legal questions, had to be cleared through the Council of State and the Office of the Governor. The approval of the County Commissioners was also needed because a portion of the target site had been donated by them to the University with the understanding that it would revert to the County if it were not to be used for University purposes.

After a two-year detailed planning process that included an international new town symposium in late

1981, the "new town" plan was finally completed and approved by the local governing bodies that controlled zoning and public utilities extensions. In late 1982, after a nationwide solicitation for proposals, the Carley Capital Group was announced as the developer of the site. In 1984, construction on the anticipated $400 million project began. A hotel/conference center complex, a community shopping center, a major office complex and several thousand residential units in a number of architectural styles were developed around a ten-acre lake. In 1985, the 130-bed University Memorial Hospital was built immediately adjacent to the site. The local Hospital Authority built the facility to support the rapidly growing population and employment base.

UNCC's involvement and the significant efforts of many key administration and academic personnel helped the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission redirect growth in the county. The result was a well-planned, pedestrian-scaled community with full amenities from the day it opened.

Davidson College

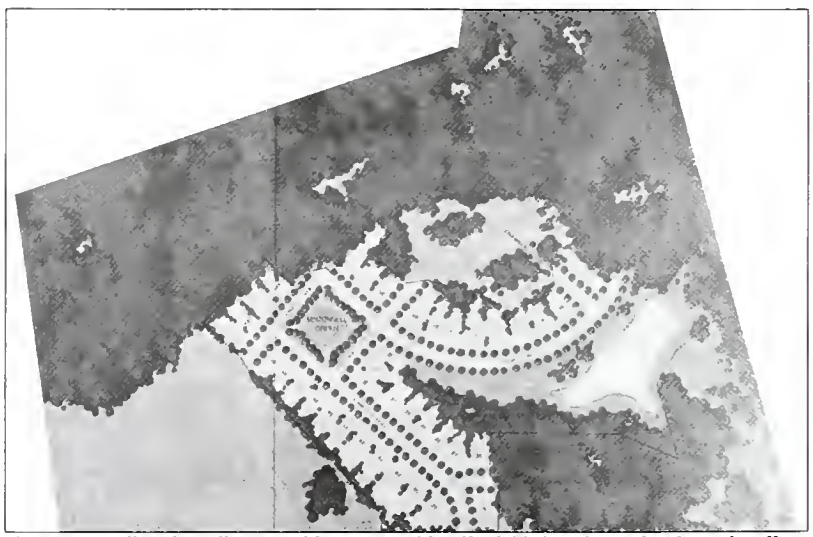
Not all planning and economic development efforts of universities and colleges are concentrated in urban areas. Davidson College is a Presbyterian-affiliated college founded in 1837 in the extreme northern end of Mecklenburg County. It is a good 20-minute trip from the heart of Charlotte on Interstate 77. The College has been and remains the single largest economic, political and social force in the 4,200-person town of the same name in this rural/exurban area on the shores of Lake Norman.

Within this bucolic setting, Davidson College has undertaken a forward-looking and thoughtful campaign of planning and economic development that also reflects an attitude of enlightened self-interest. Over the years, the College has noted increasing difficulty in recruiting and attracting new junior faculty and staff because of the rising cost of new housing. This only exacerbated the problems that Davidson shares with other small private colleges of paying salaries competitive with those offered by the various state universities or the larger private ones.

Much of the immediate pressure had begun to develop as the Charlotte housing market expanded into the area. The property around Lake Norman, which had seen little significant activity for the 20 years following its creation, was discovered as a location for both first and second homes. The efforts of Mecklenburg County to redirect some of its growth to the northern portions of the county also attracted attention to unexploited opportunities represented by the small town, exurban and rural atmospheres of Davidson.

Many new and junior faculty and staff at the College found themselves having to live further away from the campus because of the relatively limited and expensive housing that was near the campus. This situation worked in direct opposition to the concept of an academic community where there was a strong and continuing interaction among not only the students and the faculty but also among the faculty and staff.

Enter Davidson College as planner and economic development catalyst. As is the case with many schools, Davidson occasionally receives donated property and lands that are not directly adjacent to the campus and thus are difficult to integrate into the educational mission of the institution. The old 98-acre McConnell farm, a little more than a mile from campus, had originally belonged to an early 20th century College physician and Biology professor. The land has been owned by a College subsidiary, the Davidson College Development Corporation, and leased to area farmers since the 1950's. Recently, the College developed a plan to use the land to address its faculty and staff housing problems.



The McConnell project allows Davidson to provide affordable housing to faculty and staff.

The development concept is fairly simple. The College, which owns the land, has formed a partnership with a local land developer and a home builder. The College sells the land to the land developer who makes the appropriate improvements resulting in a subdivision with platted lots, streets, curbs and gutters, water/sewer service, planned open space, etc. When a College employee indicates an interest, the College buys back from the developer a finished lot. The developer and builder are free to sell to the general public the houses and lots not bought by the College.

The arrangement between the College and its employee is straightforward: you may lease your lot from the College and build a new house there. The lease is for 99 years and there is a small "land use fee" that the home owner pays to the College beginning in year six of the land lease. As a result, home owners can now spend more on a house because they are not financing the cost of the land. In a typical $140,000 home $35,000 is for the price of the lot and only $105,000 is for the price of the house. The home owner can now afford to spend $140,000 on the house. However, College employees can also purchase the lots outright before they are offered to the general public. In addition, the College has innovative programs that offer down payment and mortgage assistance. The down payment assistance of up to five percent is only available to those who might wish to live in the McConnell neighborhood, and may be used in conjunction with a leased lot arrangement. The monthly mortgage assistance option is available for any home purchased within two miles of the campus.

When a faculty or staff member is ready to leave the College, they settle with the College for the appreciated value of the leased lot. In effect, they are able to pay the bulk of the land use fee in such a way that they share with the College in appreciation of the property. At the time, the College also has a "right of first refusal," and can purchase the house so that it can be made available to other employees under similarly advantageous terms. Throughout their occupancy as "home owners," the faculty or staff members pay the property taxes on the land and the improvements just as though they owned it under a fee simple arrangement. Ownership of houses purchased under these provisions can not be transferred except to a surviving spouse of a College employee. Instead, the house must be sold under College-sanctioned procedures.

The first 37-lot phase of the 198-lot McConnell neighborhood, was opened for sales in October 1992. By early December there were ten contracts with buyers being evenly split between College personnel and the general public. Of those 37 lots, seventeen have been allocated for College personnel and 20 for general public sales. Development phases of approximately 30 lots are planned for each succeeding year until the entire "neighborhood" has been completed. The College expects approximately 25 to 30 percent of the entire neighborhood to be developed under the land lease scenario.

The College's control of the land and lack of interest in short-term profits makes them a very stable partner for the land developer and the builder. As a result, the College's involvement has made this neighborhood more attractive to potential homebuyers. First Union National Bank has already agreed to handle the permanent financing and Fannie Mae approval will probably have been received by the time this article is published.

This has not been the only experiment with housing that Davidson College has tried over the years. Among other things, they leased College-owned houses directly to their personnel. Over time, however, many of these efforts have proven to be inadequate to meet the full scope of the need. Programs like Davidson's have also been attempted at Princeton and the University of California at Irvine. In all of these cases, the institutions' involvement in planning and economic development offers potential partners, as well as bankers, a better feeling about the risks associated with the volatile real estate market.

Johnson C. Smith University

In late 1985 a group of men and women met on the campus of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte. Their purpose was to chart a strategy to improve the lives and environment of the residents of the area centered on Beatties Ford Road near this historically black university. These neighborhood, business and civic leaders were concerned with the environmental quality, neighborhood services, economic opportunities and housing stock in this largely black and economically depressed area. In 1985, Charlotte had been experiencing phenomenal growth and prosperity, however, the

Historic Biddle Hall on the campus of Johnson C. Smith.

area around the University continued to be affected by many problems endemic to deteriorating inner city neighborhoods such as crime, poor housing, the absence of neighborhood amenities and little or no employment.

At the conclusion of the meeting, those in attendance agreed to form a coalition to develop and support a revitalization effort. The concept came to be known as "Project Catalyst" and was aimed at those neighborhoods immediately adjacent to the University. Over the next several years, the Project Catalyst task force developed a plan for these depressed communities. They were also able to raise over $150,000 in public and private funds to pursue a number of focused objectives. These objectives included:

- conducting a demographic survey of the population living in the area;
- hiring a part-time coordinator to help better organize the citizens and to engage them in discussion and analysis of community needs;
- developing a vision, a land use plan and a site plan for what the target area could become; and
- encouraging substantial corporate, philanthropic and local government support for the revival and renewal of the badly depressed communities.

The task force remained in existence for almost four years and was moderately successful in achieving these objectives. However, the participants recognized that a more formal mechanism with an appropriate funding base was needed to fully realize their vision for the area. The decision was made to form an official community development corporation. With the consent of the task force and neighborhood leaders, the President of the University and his staff began to solicit foundations to secure funding for the establishment of such an entity.

In the spring of 1989, Johnson C. Smith University was invited to submit a proposal to the Ford Foundation for support under their urban initiatives project. After a year of discussions and negotiations, the Foundation made a grant of $175,000 to the University through its intermediary Seedco. A not-for-profit, community-based development corporation was established as the instrument for empowering the twelve formally organized neighborhood associations in the northwest quadrant of the city.

In February 1991, the Northwest Corridor Community Development Corporation was established and officially incorporated. The Corporation is a cooperative effort of the citizens and businesspersons of the Corridor, Johnson C. Smith, the neighborhood associations, the corporate community and the City of Charlotte. Governed by a fourteen-member board, the CDC has established the following specific objectives:

- to create a positive image for the Corridor;
- to spur economic development with an emphasis on nurturing and creating opportunities for residents to own, manage and operate businesses in the Corridor;
- to develop affordable and desirable mixed-style housing in the Corridor;
- to nurture community pride in all citizens of the Corridor; and
- to address the human service needs which are appropriate for a community-based CDC.

The Corporation, whose offices are housed on the campus of the University, worked closely with the University, community leaders, the City of Charlotte (through its Community Development Department staff), and business leaders to refine the vision begun under the Project Catalyst effort.

The second direct outgrowth of the efforts of Project Catalyst was the founding of the West Charlotte Business Incubator. One of the major problems identified by the earlier group was the lack of retail and service providers within the community. This situation was compounded by a lack of experience and support generally available to those persons who might wish to develop retail and service businesses. The Incubator was designed to protectively nurture new businesses, and thereby to increase their chances of becoming economically viable.

The Incubator not only provides space where new businesses can operate at reduced lease rates, but also a network of supportive and educational services. After three years under the umbrella of the Incubator, businesses are expected to have become strong enough, and their operators skilled enough, to enter into and prosper in the regular business environment.

To facilitate the development of the Incubator, the University leased two acres of its land to this new operation for one dollar per year for 20 years. The Incubator was dedicated in July 1991 and is now functioning with approximately 20 minority entrepreneurs on site. The 10,000-square foot facility is a substantially rehabilitated Civil War-era iron works that supplied cannonballs to the Confederate navy.

The third major outcome of Project Catalyst was the design and implementation of a streetscape plan for the West Trade Street/Beatties Ford Road corridor. This $1.2 million, City-funded public improvement scheduled to be completed in 1994 includes:

- the realigning and improving of the Five Points intersection immediately in front of the University campus;

- the design and implementation of a new, heavily-landscaped pedestrian entrance to the campus involving the relocation of an historic stone arch;
- major tree planting and landscaping projects at the Interstate 77/West Trade Street and Brookshire Freeway/Beatties Ford Road interchanges; and
- the construction of landscaped focal points/pocket parks on each of the major approaches to the improved Five Points intersection.

To support its core operations, the CDC has recently been awarded a $407,000 grant from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development under its "Historically Black Colleges and Universities Program." Specific projects have been identified for implementation during the three year life of this grant. These include:

- the construction of an office/retail complex at the Five Points intersection immediately across from the University;
- the development of affordable housing for low- and moderate-income residents, as well as the revitalization of aging, moderate-income housing stock already in existence;
- the creation of economic development opportunities both in terms of outlets for locally-consumed goods and services, and for new jobs for Corridor residents; and
- the development and implementation/coordination of a plan to address the multi-faceted human services needs of the community residents.

In pursuit of these goals, the CDC has recently successfully negotiated a $200,000 line of credit to capitalize a Community Real Estate Fund (CREF). The purpose of this subsidiary not-for-profit corporation is to acquire vacant parcels for infill residential development. NationsBank, First Union National Bank, and Wachovia Bank and Trust were responsible for providing this initial funding. Discussions have been initiated for a similar instrument dedicated to non-residential development.

The CDC is also working with the owners of a deteriorating shopping center within the Corridor to provide gap financing through its foundation sources and the City of Charlotte. For its assistance in this effort, the CDC expects to acquire a substantial ownership interest in the redeveloped shopping center. Another benefit of this arrangement should be the creation of a continuing income stream to help cover core operating expenses for the CDC when grant funding ends in three years.

Another of the CDC's projects is to negotiate with local banks for construction and permanent financing of a small office and retail complex. If successful, this project will be built on the site of an abandoned furniture store presently owned by the University. The CDC and the University would be partners in the venture that might net the CDC not only an additional income stream to help with future operations, but also office space independent of the University campus.

Finally, the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation has awarded the CDC a $50,000 grant. These funds will support a detailed human services needs assessment for Corridor residents, as well as several phases of predevelopment activity for the infill housing projects previously discussed.

Conclusions

The efforts of these three schools have and are significantly influencing development in Mecklenburg County. In the case of UNCC, the effort resulted in the coalescence and implementation of important public policy on growth management in northeastern Mecklenburg County. In the case of Davidson College, the broader goals of the school were effectively integrated into the private sector housing market's functioning. In the case of Johnson C. Smith University, the effort will result in the implementation of a major public policy on neighborhood revitalization in the Northwest Corridor.

Efforts in the Northwest Corridor continue to find grant money as well as sensitive, patient capital and funds for predevelopment activities. Where UNCC was able to work with municipal governments and its Foundation, and Davidson College was able to craft an agreement with a local develope, Johnson C. Smith University and the Northwest Corridor CDC must generate partners to assist in their efforts. At least in part this is because the Davidson and UNCC area efforts were easily integrated into the private market function. The challenge in the Northwest Corridor will be to supplement, augment and leverage private market functions to make them work to the advantage of a distressed community.CP

Tech Prep Associate Degree: Preparing Today's Students for Tomorrow's Workplace

Joseph W. Grimsley
Anne B. Crabbe

For generations, America's brightest students have followed a College Prep course of study during their high school years. While this group of students has been guided through their high school experience, the majority of students have been left to their own devices to select the courses in which they will enroll. Being human beings and prone to human weaknesses, these students have usually chosen the path of least resistance and taken the least demanding courses possible. Few students take Algebra by choice! Often, the only goal for the majority of students has been to finish. Unfortunately, as our nation's high drop-out statistics indicate, finishing school has not always included receiving a diploma.

There is a certain irony in this scenario. Not trusting the intellect of our more advanced students to make the correct choices, we, as educators, have designed their curricula. Conversely, we have entrusted our average and below-average students with the decisions regarding the selection of their high school coursework, decisions that will affect their lives ever after. In so doing, we have failed to provide instruction in the concepts and skills needed to guarantee a decent future for the majority of our students.

Upon leaving high school, today's students enter a world of work which is vastly different from that which their parents faced. The technology revolution has radically changed all aspects of our lives, especially the workplace. Very few jobs for unskilled workers exist anymore, and those that do, offer wages at the bottom of the pay scale. Fast-food restaurants, often depended upon to provide the first jobs for many teens, may become so automated that these jobs will disappear. Recently, a friend stopped for a soft drink at a Hardee's Restaurant in Raleigh. Diane placed her order with the girl behind the counter, who pushed a few buttons on her cash register/computer. Diane then saw a cup drop onto a conveyer belt, where it was filled with ice and the soft drink of her choice. Next, a plastic cover was placed on the soft drink. No human was involved in the preparation of Diane's soft drink. How much longer will it be before Diane punches in her own order on the computer, inserts a plastic debit card for payment, and receives her whole meal without any assistance from a human being? And when this happens, what will our poorly educated young people (and some not-so-young people) be doing for employment?

The same type of automation is occurring in manufacturing plants, printing plants and health-care facilities, to name but a few. The technology revolution has permeated almost every aspect of life. If our youth are not prepared to function successfully in a world driven by technology, they will find themselves without the means to advance in their career fields. They may, in fact, find themselves without the skills necessary to find any employment. Jobs that require little or no thinking and, few, if any, physical skills needing special training are, like the dinosaurs, rapidly reaching the point of extinction in this country. The number of low-skilled jobs has been further reduced by the fact that many American manufacturers are building plants out of the country to take advantage of the lower wages in less technologically advanced nations.

Those who enter today's workforce need to have a

Joseph W. Grimsley has been the president of Richmond Community College since 1985. Prior to that, he served as Secretary of the N.C. Department of Administration and Secretary of the N.C. Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. ***Dr. Anne B. Crabbe*** *is the director of the Executive Leadership Program at Richmond Community College. Previously she was the executive director of the Future Problem Solving Program, an international educational program to develop problem solving and creativity.*

firm academic and technological foundation. They need to be able to think and solve problems. Education is more important than it has ever been, and *more* education is more important than it has ever been. A high school diploma, even one earned by taking challenging coursework, is no longer sufficient to secure a good job. An Associate Degree from a two-year community/technical college is now a basic requirement for many employers.

The Richmond County Experiment

In 1986, Doug James, Superintendent of Richmond County Schools and Joe Grimsley, President of Richmond Community College, were searching for a better way to prepare the students of Richmond County for the workplace. President Grimsley was hearing complaints from his faculty about the frequent need for remedial coursework for students entering college from Richmond Senior High School. Superintendent James was frustrated that the open-admissions policy of the college allowed anyone to enter, thereby reducing the motivation for students to take challenging courses in high school. Dropout rates at the high school were high (though consistent with the state averages), and many of the students who did receive their diplomas were poorly prepared for employment or going on to school. Both men knew the system was not working.

Anatomy courses allow students to get a head start on health care professions.

In their search for a solution, they came across Dale Parnell's book, *The Neglected Majority*. Parnell focused on the unchallenging and unstructured education being provided for the middle majority of students. He emphasized the need for producing a more technically advanced group of graduates in order to fulfill the needs of the job market. Parnell suggested a "2 + 2" model in which high school students would have a more rigorous course of study in both academics and vocational courses during their junior and senior years, and then move directly into a two-year Associate Degree program at a two-year community/technical college. *Tech Prep* was the name Parnell gave to this approach. Tech Prep, which stands for Technical Preparation, is a structured and challenging course of study designed to provide training for students who are interested in careers of a technical nature: accounting, nursing, medical technology, electronics, and drafting, for example. Through a blending of higher level academic and vocational/technical courses, Tech Prep prepares high school students for the advanced courses required by two-year technical and community colleges.

Grimsley and James agreed with the concepts offered by Parnell, but both believed that the junior year was too late to start such a program. By their junior year in high school, many students had already dropped out mentally, if not physically. They believed the intervention, to be effective, needed to be started earlier. They expanded the high school course of study by two years, so that the Richmond Tech Prep model is a "4 + 2" approach beginning in the 9th grade. In reality, because Tech Prep requires each student to be achieving on or above grade level in all courses, the concept permeates the entire educational experience, from entrance into kindergarten through the awarding of the Associate Degree. The progress of all children at all grade levels must be closely supervised and assessed to insure they are not falling behind. Those children who do not learn as quickly as their peers may need special help and more time to enable them to achieve at grade level.

Components of Success

In the years since the inception of Tech Prep, many changes have been made as the concept and the tangible products have been piloted and modified. The process has been, and continues to be evolutionary.

Currently, there are twelve components which have been identified as being critical to the success of Tech Prep. Those components are:

1. **Commitment of Key Leaders.** It is crucial that the superintendent of schools, the president of the commu-

nity college, and key community leaders are committed to the concept of Tech Prep. It is also essential that they make that commitment known to all persons associated with the institutions.

2. **Collaboration of Key Leaders**. In addition to being committed to Tech Prep, the key leaders in the area need to be willing to work collaboratively. This means giving up turf and working as a team for the benefit of all students. One of the primary reasons that Tech Prep has been so successful in Richmond County is the personal collaborative leadership of the Superintendent and President. They approach education issues from a "what is best for the students" perspective and leave egos and territorial issues outside the door. Ironically, putting aside individual egos has resulted in both systems receiving multiple awards and plaudits from the state and national levels for their work on Tech Prep.

3. **Staff Orientation**. All faculty and staff members need to understand the changes that are taking place in the world (the movement from an industrial society to a service/information society, the role of technology in the workplace, the impact of the global marketplace, etc.) and how Tech Prep is a viable educational solution to responding to those changes. They also need to know the basic philosophy and structure of Tech Prep, and that the leaders are committed to making Tech Prep a success.

4. **Articulation Agreements**. These are agreements between the community college(s) and the school district(s) that allow students to progress without duplication of efforts from secondary to post-secondary programs. Such agreements should also make provisions for students to earn college credit for college-level work mastered while in high school (Advanced Placement).

5. **Curriculum Review**. Assessments of courses and programs (both vocational and academic) need to be done on a regular basis, in order to determine the appropriateness and relevancy of content, to insure that there are no gaps in information, and to remove duplication of instruction. As a result of the review, it is likely that some courses will need to be eliminated and new ones added. Input from local employers is particularly beneficial in these endeavors, for they are most attuned to the skills and knowledge needed in the workplace.

6. **Course of Study**. Structured courses of study need to be developed in major career fields, such as Business and Health Occupations. Each course of study should include required and recommended academic and vocational courses. Coursework included should fulfill basic educational needs and the needs of the targeted career fields. Input from local employers is very helpful with this aspect of Tech Prep.

The Richmond County Tech Prep model has three career clusters: Business; Engineering (industrial, mechanical, and electrical); and Health and Human Services. Students interested in nursing, for example, would be enrolled in the Health and Human Services cluster. In addition to their vocational courses related to nursing, they would also take a sequence of science coursework that would include chemistry, biology, and anatomy. All Tech Prep students are required to enroll in a sequence of math courses beginning with Algebra I and leading to Algebra II.

7. **Relevancy of Instruction**. Almost all students learn better if they understand a relationship between the information and skills being taught and the potential for their use in the real world. Teachers should design their teaching activities to help students understand why the information and/or skills are important.

Integrating vocational/technical and academic courses makes instruction more relevant. Academic courses should emphasize practical uses of information, while vocational courses should include lessons that require students to use their academic skills, such as reading, writing, and mathematics. There have been successful efforts by teams of teachers to integrate the vocational and academic coursework. For example, keyboarding teachers and English teachers have worked together to help their students produce reports that are grammatically correct, well written, and accurately and attractively presented. Such collaboration between teachers strengthens the concepts and skills to be learned and makes learning in both classes more relevant for the students. With good planning and a little luck, the age-old question from students (WHY do we have to learn this?) may be eliminated or at least diminished.

8. **Staff Development**. Many teachers need to upgrade their subject area skills and knowledge, particularly in the vocational/technical areas, where information and procedures are changing so rapidly. A partnership of local businesses and the school district in Cleveland County, North Carolina has resulted in selected vocational/technical teachers attending staff development workshops sponsored by local plants for their employees. The teachers have come away with a greater appreciation of concepts and skills needed to be taught and have begun to modify their course outlines and teaching styles accordingly.

As courses are updated or eliminated, teachers will need to adapt. At Richmond Senior High School, Tech Prep resulted in the offering of more sections of Algebra and fewer ones in General Math. That meant that some mathematics teachers needed a refresher course in Algebra, so they could make the transition.

Teachers also need to move from lectures to methods of instruction in which the students assume a more active role and the teacher spends more time in a facilitator role. Business and industry are asking for employees who can think on their feet, solve problems, and work as members of a team. If the schools are going to

deliver that type of person, the manner in which instruction takes place has to change.

9. **Career Guidance.** Helping students assess their abilities, aptitudes, and interests is essential to guiding them into the appropriate Tech Prep cluster. It is also important is providing them with information about the array of career options available in their areas of interest. A guidance program to provide these services needs to be in place.

10. **Marketing.** It is not enough to have a successful program or product. That program or product must be "sold" to the intended audience. Tech Prep means change, and change usually is accompanied by resistance. Successful marketing is crucial to overcoming resistance. In the case of Tech Prep, the audiences are internal (teachers, administrators, students, and parents) and external (employers and the community-at-large). Local employers in Richmond County have been extremely helpful in marketing. Prior to registration periods, many employers have placedbrochures explaining and promoting Tech Prep in the paycheck envelopes of their employees.

11. **Collecting Results.** In order to assess the effects of Tech Prep, a system for collecting and analyzing data must be in place.

12. **Reviewing and Revising.** Tech Prep is not a static entity. It is, and should be, a constantly evolving and changing process. A system needs to be provided for regular review and interpretation of the data. From that information, the school leaders need to decide what, if any, changes are necessary to improve the program and the results.

Tech Prep, however, is much more than a course of study or a set of components. It is primarily an *attitude*. That attitude, which is absolutely essential, says to the students, "You are capable, you can achieve, and you are *expected* to achieve." Administrators, teachers, and students need to believe that this is the case and allow that belief to govern their actions.

Tech Prep Achievements

Changing attitudes is definitely the greatest challenge for Tech Prep or for any activity in which human beings are involved. But for Tech Prep to succeed, it is essential that the administrators and teachers believe that every student can learn and achieve. That premise has become a reality in Richmond County, where students are demonstrating that their teachers' faith in their abilities is well founded.

Since the implementation of Tech Prep in Richmond County in 1986, the results have been most impressive. Early critics of the program warned that if the coursework was made more challenging, more students would drop out. Contrary to that belief, the opposite has occurred. The average annual high school dropout rate for grades 9-12 has decreased from 7.2 percent per grade (28.4 percent for the four grades) in 1985-86 to 2.95 percent per grade (11.8 percent for the four grades) in 1991-92. Of the 153 children who dropped out of school in 1990-91 in Richmond County, only 23 (15 percent) were Tech Prep students. The majority of dropouts (114-74.5 percent) were students who were not enrolled in College or Tech Prep programs, but were in a General Education program.

Tech Prep emphasizes the importance of computer skills, preparing students for community college coursework.

Another finding was that more students were beginning to see college as a real possibility. Each spring, the State of North Carolina administers a survey to high school seniors about their post-secondary plans. In 1984, 48 percent of Richmond County seniors indicated that they intended to go on to a two-year or four-year college or university after graduation. By 1992, that number had risen to 81 percent. These statistics indicate

that students are beginning to understand and respond to the need for post-secondary education to prepare for the workplace. They also imply that students are changing their attitudes about their abilities to pursue a college degree and are seeing themselves as more capable persons.

Not only are more students indicating their intentions to attend college, but most are actually following through on those intentions. Surveys of 1989 and 1990 high school graduates showed that 67 percent of the 1989 graduates and 68 percent of the 1990 graduates were attending college. Additional information revealed that the 1989 and 1990 graduates of Tech Prep, who were enrolled at Richmond Community College, had a combined grade point average that was higher than that of the non-Tech Prep students.

One of the requirements of the Tech Prep course of study is enrollment in Algebra I, the first step toward completion of a sequence of math courses to include Geometry and Algebra I and II. In 1986, those who resisted Tech Prep warned that adding less capable students to Algebra would result in a lowering of the average scores on the North Carolina Algebra I end-of-course tests. Despite the increase in the number of Richmond High School students taking and completing Algebra I (from 47.1 percent in 1984 to 72.2 percent in 1992), the average scores did not fall. In fact, the core scores of Richmond High School students rose from 53.6 percent in 1986 to 62.2 percent in 1992. While still below the state average of 67.4 percent, the scores of Richmond County students are definitely higher than they were six years ago, and the gap is narrowing.

Because of the success of Tech Prep in Richmond County, in 1989, the North Carolina State Board of Education and the North Carolina State Board of Community Colleges passed a Joint Policy Statement supporting the expansion of Tech Prep into all public school districts and community college service areas in North Carolina. In support of this action, they provided funding to establish the North Carolina Tech Prep Leadership Development Center in Richmond County. The purpose of the Center is to help other North Carolina school districts and community colleges develop and refine Tech Prep in their own areas. Two basic methods of assistance have been made available:

(1) once-a-month, site visits in which guests travel to Richmond County and spend a day listening to presentations by Richmond's key players (president of community college, superintendent of schools, junior and senior high school principals, vocational director, college admissions director, etc.) and touring Richmond Senior High School to observe many of the classes; and

(2) technical assistance by the director of the Center, who travels to school districts upon receiving requests for assistance.

Recently, Richmond County was named as one of the seven national Tech Prep demonstration sites for the federal Department of Education. In this capacity, Richmond County Schools and Richmond Community College will be providing assistance in Tech Prep to school districts and community colleges all over the country. The means of assistance will be similar to that already being provided through the Center. In addition, the federal project will enable the Center staff to extend Tech Prep training to an even broader audience.

The Richmond County Tech Prep model has been the recipient of other awards. In the spring of 1992, the Richmond Community College/Richmond County School District team was one of three teams from across the nation to receive the Parnell Tech Prep-Associate Degree Award presented by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC). In September 1992, the two institutions were again recognized for their accomplishments when they were presented the R.J. Reynolds' Tech Prep Founders Award.

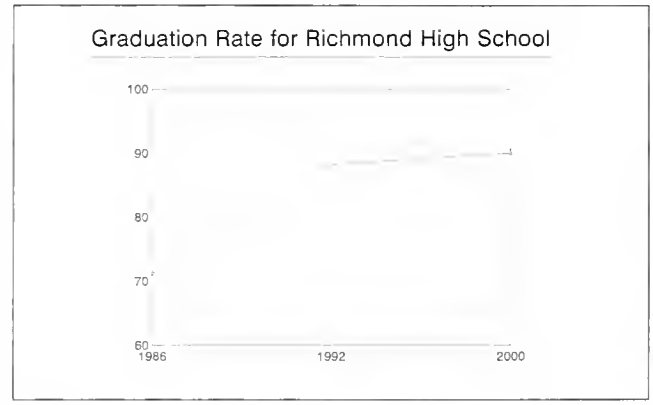


Figure 1.

It is important to look at Tech Prep in relation to other educational movements and directives currently underway in the nation. The most dominant is the America 2000 movement, initiated in 1991 by President Bush and the nation's 50 governors. America 2000 set forth six educational goals for the nation for the year 2000. Tech Prep directly responds to five of the six goals:

1. *The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.* Tech Prep has resulted in the dropout rate for Richmond High School falling from 7.2 percent per class (28.8 percent for the four years) in 1986, to 2.95 percent (11.8 percent for the four years) in 1992. With this degree of progress, it is fully expected that Richmond County will achieve the 90 percent graduation goal by the year 2000. (See Figure 1)

2. *American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter, including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will*

ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy. This goal is consistent with several sub-goals of Tech Prep, one of which is that students will be at or above grade level in *all* courses at all grade levels. Another objective of Tech Prep is that students are challenged to use their minds; learning does not focus on the memorization of information, but rather, on the utilization of information. The primary purpose of Tech Prep is to "prepare students for productive employment in our modern economy."

3. *U.S. students will be the first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.* Tech Prep students are required to take a sequence of math courses beginning with Algebra I and leading to Algebra II. They are also required to take a sequence of higher-level science courses that are related to their chosen career cluster. For example, a student in the Engineering cluster wishing to go into electronics would take physics or Principles of Technology. These courses are a long way from the general math and general science classes that they might have selected had they been General Education students. Very few of these unchallenging courses still exist at Richmond High School, for there are very few students who are not in a College Prep or Tech Prep program. By taking more challenging coursework in math and science, Richmond County students are doing their part toward bringing the nation back into a position of prominence in the areas of math and science.

4. *Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.* Communication skills are an important part of Tech Prep; each student is expected to be able to read, write, and communicate at grade level. The primary goal of Tech Prep is to prepare the students to compete in a global economy by insuring that they have the necessary knowledge and skills.

5. *Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.* Guests taking part in the on-site visitation to Richmond Senior High School are first struck by the orderliness and cleanliness of the school. Though the building is twenty years old, it looks as though it is new. The grounds are clean and well-kept. The next impression one gets is the feeling of productivity. Students and teachers move about with a purpose; there is no loitering. In the classrooms, it is often the students who proudly present the information about the courses. While hardly professional presenters, they do a fine job of explaining the information and responding to questions. The pride they have for their program is apparent. These youngsters have little time for drugs or violence. They are too busy working on challenging courses and too proud of what they are doing to ruin their futures with drugs.

6. *All children in America will start school ready to learn* This goal focuses on preparing children for school, so it is not directly affected by Tech Prep. However, since Tech Prep students are expected to be on or above grade level as they progress through school, it is very important this goal be realized. Tech Prep may indirectly provide motivation for the achievement of this sixth goal.

The first wave of Tech Prep students to progress through four years at the secondary school level and two years at the college level have just recently graduated. There is a great deal of interest in what happens to these young people and how they will fare in the workplace. Common sense tells us they will succeed, but so far there is little data to support that assumption. The academic and technical skills they have acquired should serve them well. Still another factor needs to be considered: Tech Prep students have had high expectations placed upon them, and, having met those expectations, they are exiting their formal schooling with a sense of confidence and importance.

During one of the tours of Richmond Senior High School, a visiting principal from Nebraska, who was debating whether or not to implement Tech Prep in his school, asked a student what he thought was the best thing about Tech Prep. The student thought for a few seconds and then responded, "Tech Prep makes me feel as important as College Prep kids." The gentleman returned to Nebraska, where he immediately began work on implementing Tech Prep.CP

References

"America 2000: An Overview." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1991.

James, M. Doug. "Opening Doors to a Brighter Future in North Carolina," in *Tech Prep Associate Degree*. Parnell, Dale and Hull, Dan (Editors). Waco, TX: The Center for Occupational Research and Development, 1991.

"Tech Prep Associate Degree." Raleigh, NC: Joint Policy Statement for N.C. State Board of Education and N.C. State Board of Community Colleges, November 1989.

North Carolina Public Schools Statistical Profiles. Raleigh, NC: The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1985, 1992.

Parnell, Dale. *The Neglected Majority*. Washington, DC: The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1985.

"Report Card, Fall 1992" Hamlet, North Carolina: Richmond County Schools, Fall 1992.

"Report of Student Performance." Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1991.

"State Dropout Prevention and Students At Risk Program." Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1991.

"Tech Prep: Opening the Doors to a Brighter Future." Hamlet, NC: Richmond County Schools, 1991.

The Town Behind the Gown: Making a Case for the Forgotten Partner

Colin Austin

Communities often go unnoticed by their academic tenants. The campus world of research and education can be self-absorbing, and the focus of its applications dilated to the state, national and international scale. When community impact is considered at all, universities view their role as beneficial to the economic and social health of their town. University-related growth and development of the host community is seen as a fortuitous byproduct, incidental to the presence of the institution. An attitude of detachment on the part of the university contributes to the classic town/gown conflict, a spatial dual existence in which the community lies beyond closed gates. As one commentator notes, "...universities have been, to put it mildly, poor neighbors." (Harkavy, 10)

Can universities and communities coexist? Scholars investigating university-community relations have called for the development of partnerships. By working together, it is argued that mutually beneficial results can be obtained. A normal partnership implies, however, that two parties enter into a limited joint venture as the result of a bargain. By assuming that the university and the community are separate entities, a relationship of power is established. Too often the town finds itself in the shadow of the institution, trying to get help, advice, or at least some attention.

What needs to be recognized is the *implied* partnership that already exists between the university and its host community. According to corporate law, an *implied partnership* is not formally delineated in a contract or agreement. Rather, it is established from a history of joint activities and the conduct of the parties (Black, 1979). Superficially, universities and communities operate as separate entities. But when carefully examined, there are many evidences of actions which reveal a fundamental co-dependency, and a certain degree of implied acceptance on the part of both parties of a shared future.

Universities cannot turn their backs on communities, and claim a merely Platonic relationship. Once an implied partnership is recognized by a court, "the parties are estopped from denying the existence of a partnership." (Black, 1979) It is not simply that communities are lucky to have a campus and should maximize the crumbs from the university table; universities have an affirmative obligation to function within their spatial context and consciously contribute to the evolution of the community. By ignoring its implied responsibilities, the university harms its partner and jeopardizes the joint enterprise.

Evidence of Partnership

University commitments to the community are, to some extent, documented. The foundation of evidence of an implied partnership is the written agenda of university participation and contribution to society. These ideals reveal a base level of intent to function within the community context.

Institutional mission statements often include community goals and objectives. The mission statement of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill requires the university to "extend knowledge-based services and other resources of the University to the citizens of North Carolina and their institutions to enhance the quality of life for all people in the state..." While the wording reflects the University's state-oriented charter, it calls for service extension and actual enhancement of life.

Colin Austin is a second year Masters student in regional planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is specializing in economic development with a special emphasis on the role of community development corporations. Austin holds a Bachelor's degree from Brigham Young University and a Law degree from Duke University.

The application of this goal to the immediate community is repeated in a policy finding and recommendation:

"The impact of a research university upon its environment is conditioned by the excellence of its faculty and programs and facilitated by the willingness and effectiveness of the institution in communicating with the community of which it is a part. The two are closely intertwined. As the quality of the faculty improves, the university's reputation is enhanced and so, too, its social responsibility."(Research Mission, I6, 1985)

Of course, an academic institution brings many benefits to a community, including educational, cultural, environmental and recreational opportunities. Access to the resources of an academic institution can enhance the livability of a community and deliver state or even national status. At the same time, universities require a healthy and stable setting for their activities.

The presence of a university creates major impacts on the local economy. According to a recent economic impact study, UNC-Chapel Hill operates on a combined payroll of close to 350 million, and is directly responsible for 9500 university jobs (Goldstein and Luger, 1,11). These huge inflows of cash and employment create demand that is largely supplied by the community. As evidence of a partnership, economic ties demonstrate an inherent co-dependency; universities and communities look to each other for employment needs, services and quality of life.

Because of this impact, and the facilities that they manage, universities claim that they already play a significant enough role in their communities (Giebner, 22). But is this an actual extension into the community, or is it merely a byproduct of what the university does for itself? In other words, is the university consciously making efforts to improve the community, or simply allowing access to its normal operations? Critics claim that universities operate independently of the local community, or at best view the community as a secondary priority (Giebner, 22). If part of the goal of university programs is community enhancement, then the local residents should be considered and consulted about the form and effects of these activities.

The evidence of partnership also extends to the social climate of the community. While universities are part of a community in the physical, spatial sense of placement in a territory, "community" also refers to social cohesiveness, the network of "recognition and reciprocity" that form the basis for collective actions (Davis, 1991). When universities choose to isolate themselves, the inherent collective relationship is threatened, and the typical town/gown frustrations ensue. By confining themselves to campus, universities damage the cohesion of the community as a whole.

Accountability

The funding of universities comes from many sources. Tuition, research grants, fund-raising, alumni contributions, federal and state government allocations are pieced together in different combinations to support university systems. One consistent, but often over-looked, contributor to higher education is the local community.

Universities depend on their immediate surroundings. Much of the quality of life that characterizes a college town or neighborhood depends upon adequate utilities and well-maintained roads. Good public schools make it easier to attract faculty and staff. Local police provide security and parks and local historic preservation contributes to a comfortable academic atmosphere.

Well-run programs, like Carleton College's ACT, allow students to serve their communities.

All of these are community investments upon which the university regularly depends.

Because of the value that society places on universities, they are to a large extent exempt from compensating the community. As nonprofit institutions, universities do not contribute property tax for local services. As a result, the surrounding community subsidizes the university; local tax-payers provide more than their share of the expenses of their community. A recent example of the tensions that can occur is the question of clean-up costs in Chapel Hill following the 1993 NCAA basketball championship. Although, in the past, the University of North Carolina has not contributed to the clean-up and damage costs, Town Manager Cal Horton is pressing for "...the University to share the burden with the city." (Daily Tar Heel, 1)

Another benefit that Universities receive is the use of public transportation systems. Because of the high rate

of University-affiliated riders, most large Universities operate their own mass transit systems. While UNC does provide a portion of the costs of Chapel Hill transit, some town council members feel the contribution should be more. (Feldman, 1993)

Some commentators conceptualize the university/community as an exchange relationship (Balanger, 63). While true acting partners share resources and assets, the exchange theory illustrates the exploitation that can arise if there is an imbalance in the use and provision of goods and services. Between partners, an inequality in contribution threatens accountability and encourages mis-use of resources. Essentially, what has occurred is that universities have appropriated community funds for their own purposes.

What do community residents receive in return for their investment? Beyond the incidental (and unintended) benefits of the university presence, many of the externalities of universities are negative. Traffic is increased, as well as the noise pollution that accompanies a student population (Giebner, 21). The operation of the University impacts air quality, and places demands on land-fill sites. Crime may increase, along with property damage and an increased need for street-cleaning. Many of these problems could be controlled or alleviated through discussion and joint planning.

Much of the traditional town/gown conflict arises when communities are left out of university planning decisions. Examples include physical expansion, affects on parking and traffic, and security (Giebner, 21). Recently, when the Grateful Dead played at UNC's Dean Smith Center for two consecutive nights, Chapel Hill was visited by thousands of concert-goers and traveling merchandisers, the town police were overwhelmed and had to call in extra help from nearby Durham to cover security (Chapel Hill Herald, April 6). The decision to schedule the band was made without community input or consultation.

The community needs contact and an opportunity to voice concerns and touch base with regard to services and any potential development projects. Frustration results from being locked into a relationship with a destructive and antagonistic partner. The resolution does not rely solely on a forum or public hearing strategy. In addition to dialogue, the university should project an image of active civic concern, one which may offset its externalities. By simply being involved, universities can define for themselves a positive role, while helping to resolve other challenges of the locale. It is this concept that provided the impetus for the creation of organizations such as NUEA (National University Extension Association), which seeks to promote social impact through community development.

The university does not have to consider working with the community to be a burden. Perhaps more than an obligation, community development presents a valuable opportunity for Universities to participate in society within their most direct spheres of influence.

For many universities, community development is a necessity. Sharp down-turns in community vitality can negatively affect recruitment and growth, in some urban locations "...universities are being seriously threatened by the collapse of their neighboring communities." (Harkavy, 10)

Wrongful Exclusion

Universities must avoid independent decision-making when considering community outreach and development. This may be difficult because of the problem of identifying the community climate. A frustration for university officials who try to coordinate with the local community is that community groups often have loosely defined or conflicting objectives (Giebner, 24). Much time and energy can be spent trying to unravel local politics and negotiating with all parties. Negotiating within a socio-demographic environment also requires communication and dialogue skills beyond traditional architectural models that are common to university master plans (Freeman, D'Elia, and Woodard).

One alternative is to create a mediating structure, which would coordinate the use of University resources towards community development. Although the lack of university organizational models for public service policy (Harkavy, 15) makes creating such a structure difficult, there are some familiar possibilities. Either a special Board of Directors or an actual Community Development Corporation would allow interaction without requiring either party to shoulder all the administrative responsibility. Through joint participation, these objectives can be worked into a broad community-wide plan. A Board of Directors of mediating structures should consist of academic representatives as well as community organizations and residents (Harkavy, 20).

There are many ideas and examples of community programs which could be sponsored by universities, including Youth Corps, clean-up drives, after-school programs, landscaping, and housing rehabilitation. In North Carolina, the REAL (Rural Entrepenuership with Action Learning) program creates public-school based small business incubators, run by high school students, with the support of the University-based Small Business Development Center (Harkavy, 22).

All of this activity is dependant upon the recognition of a partnership. By allocating its resources and attention, the university can take a leading role in overcoming misunderstandings and inaccuracies. The use of surveys can provide objective data on which to base discussion and negotiation (Balenger, 67). Universities only identify their role in assisting community groups (Rohfeld, 182) as they begin to see their interest in developing

"Adopt-a-grandparent", an ACT program at Carleton College.

residential areas, public schools and businesses (Harkavy, 16).

Duty of Care

Having made an investment in the university, the community should expect that their perspective and needs be studied. Unfortunately, universities cannot even be accused of preaching what they do not practice. Without more attention to the field of community development, NUEA officials fear the worst:

"...until this challenge is met, human values will continue to decline, and the varied manifestation of human maladjustment which characterize our times will continue to multiply (Rohfeld, 181)."

Universities can begin by emphasizing community development in the academic environment. In addition to courses, specific student service programs are one way for universities to extend themselves. By encouraging "prosocial behavior", universities can contribute to a student's personal development while providing a valuable service to the community.

Educational analysts have noted a recent decline in civic responsibility, specifically among students:

"From this standpoint, universities occupy strategic ground. Almost half the population, including nearly all our public officials, business executives, civic leaders, and professionals, enter our colleges and professional schools. For several formative years the university is the dominant influence in their lives. (Bok, 61)

After classroom preparation, community service can prepare students for civic responsibilities. At the individual level, students already provide a substantial resource of volunteer workers. Students often create and develop their own programs. In Chapel Hill, one example is "Communiversity", where 50 volunteers spend Saturdays teaching African-American children history, heritage, culture and community values (Cashion, 1993). Student efforts to serve their communities demonstrate a willingness and a desire to participate in local problems, and to interact with real people and issues.

But students should not always bear the burden of initiating and maintaining service programs. The transient nature of student populations is a barrier to long-term commitment and effectiveness. As temporary residents, students cannot be expected to establish meaningful community relationships without assistance.

Activity in the community should be part of the learning process, an extension of the academic interaction between student and teacher. Programs need to be adequately supervised and explained, so that students participate in their administration and identify the moral implications of their activities (Bok 101). Successful training efforts need to teach the supporting values of community responsibility (Serow and Dreyden, 554, 560).

This civic training may be particularly important for public non-religious universities, where students are less likely to have community service experiences (Serow and Dreyden, 560). Graduate students can be involved in this process as well, and be provided with an opportunity to apply theory and classroom learning to actual situations.

Professors are often inactive in the community. This is understandable, to some extent, considering teaching responsibilities and professional commitments. Decisions to grant faculty tenure are often based on quantity and quality of research as well as instructorship; what is little known, and seldom recognized, is that another tenure component is community service. According to UNC-CH Trustee Policies and Regulations, tenure decisions should be based on several components:

"...demonstrated professional competence, including consideration of commitment to effective teaching, research, or *public services* (Trustee Policies, Sec.2, 1987)."

Ironically, at present the tenure demands of producing and publishing research often prohibit professors from taking the time to participate in community service (Kennedy, 1990-91). By recognizing "public service" as a legitimate component of a tenure decision, faculty can

afford to invest some of their energies locally. The resulting effects of implementing this commitment could encourage practical direction for scholarship; valuing community service at the faculty level allows research and education to be related to real social needs.

Community service can also help develop unity among the participants themselves. By adopting an "academically-based, public service approach", teaching and research can integrate academic departments (Harkavy, 12). A strategy of community service is interdisciplinary, and can work towards healing scholarly divisions and "intellectual fragmentation" (Harkavy, 12).

After meeting their primary obligation to students, universities also need to be educators of the community. Community residents are increasingly looking for educational leadership to provide assistance in solving local problems (Rohfeld, 182). Much could be accomplished through programs especially targeted at minorities, public officials, and older students by including faculty and campus professionals as teachers and leaders (Miller, 1990).

Some University-based programs do reach out to the community at an organizational level. One such program is the Center for Community Planning at the University of Massachusetts. By providing field project opportunities as part of a degree program, the Center helps students pick up planning and analytical skills while serving the community (Colon, Kennedy, and Stone, 1990-91). The benefits of the program extend to the community as a whole, and contribute toward a process of democratization:

"We see community development very much as a development of a sense of community, as a development of community ties, as a development of people within their communities taking control over the planning and governmental processes that affect their lives (Kennedy, 62)."

Conclusion

In a court of law, universities might be liable to their communities for damages. The true costs, however, are ill-defined and to some extent irreversible. A progressive resolution might be to appeal to universities to accept more responsibility for their local environment. Increased community consciousness is identified as a "third wave" of university planning:

"... the new approach requires that colleges and universities abandon some of their independence and separateness and interact with their community and their city in a more progressive and caring manner. Higher education needs to understand that their own futures are bound up with the physical, economic, and social futures of their cities or towns. (Freeman, D'Elia, and Woodard, 1992: 31)

The separation of town and gown is largely artificial; both identities participate in a larger concept of community. Both interact and progress as neighbors, depending to a large degree on each other. Once this existing partnership is recognized, universities may down the path of becoming *good* neighbors.CP

References

Balenger, Victoria J., William E. Sedlacek, and Marsha A. Guenzler "Living in Commercial Harmony: Research as a Catalyst for Cooperative 'Town-Gown' Relations", *NASPA Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Fall 1991.

Black, Henry C., *Black's Law Dictionary*, West Publishing (St. Paul, 1979).

Bok, Derek, *Universities and the Future of America*, Duke University Press Durham, 1990.

Cashion, Andrea, "Kids Sacrifice Saturdays to Learn" *The Daily Tar Heel*, April 19, 1993, p.3.

Colon, Melvin, Marie Kennedy, and Michael Stone "A Metropolitan University and Community Development", *Metropolitan Universities*, Fall-Winter 1990-91, p. 61.

Davis, John E., *Contested Ground: Collective Action and the Urban Neighborhood*, Cornell Ithaca, 1991.

Feldman, Daniel, "Town might seek UNC funds to pay for NCAA revelry", *The Daily Tar Heel*, April 8, 1993.

Feldman, Daniel, "UNC not likely to purchase town transit", *The Daily Tar Heel*, April 20, 1993.

Freeman, Alan C., William D'Elia, and Kimberly Woodard, "New Town-Gown Planning," *Planning for Higher Education*, Volume 21, Fall 1992.

Giebner, Robert C., "Probing the Issues of Town/Gown Conflict", *Historic Preservation Forum*, November/December 1992.

Harkavy, Ira, John L. Puckett, "The Role of Mediating Structures in University and Community Revitalization: The University of Pennsylvania and West Philadelphia as a Case Study", *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, Volume 25, Number 1, Fall 1991.

Miller, Richard I., *Major American Higher Education Issues and Challenges in the 1990's*, Jessica Kingsley London, 1990.

Record of the University of North Carolina, Undergraduate Bulletin 1992-1994, p.11.

The Research Mission of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Self-Study Findings and Recommendations.

Rohfeld, Rae W., "Community Development and University Extension: Involving the University in Social Change", *Continuing Higher Education Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3 Fall, 1992.

Serow, Robert C. and Julia I. Dreyden, "Community Service Among College and University Students: Individual and Institutional Relationships", *Adolescence*, Vol. XXV No. 99, Fall 1990.

Trustee Policies and Regulations Governing Academic Tenure in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, July 1, 1987.

St. Mary's College of Maryland: A Case Study in Campus Planning with Particular Historical and Environmental Challenges

Christine C. Cihlar
John D. Underwood

Many college and university campuses are among the most beautiful places in the nation. Students, faculty, and visitors walk onto such campuses and immediately feel a sense of place. The natural setting, architectural design, arrangement of buildings, open space, and landscaping together create an inviting and supportive atmosphere for the community of learning that school represents.

This atmosphere does not happen by accident. The most beautiful and functional campuses have been carefully planned to achieve their goals. The most fortunate institutions adopted a campus planning process early in their history, and have followed and modified it as necessary, through years of expansion.

Many campuses, however, are not so fortunate. Even when plans had been developed, the tremendous expansion of higher education in the 60s and 70s encouraged colleges to abandon their plans or proceed with expedient projects without sufficient regard to the total campus environment. In the ensuing years, outside concerns and forces have increasingly influenced campus development--city and county planning, environmental regulations, historic preservation issues, traffic patterns, and residential and commercial development among them. Given these pressures, the college that seeks to develop a functional as well as a beautiful campus must bring a good deal of creativity and collaborative thinking to its campus planning process.

*Christine C. Cihlar is the Director of Public Affairs of St. Mary's College of Maryland. She has been on the staff since 1980 and has been the college spokesperson throughout its planning process. **Dr. John D. Underwood** is the Executive Vice President for Administration of the College. A member of the College community since 1972, he was named Vice President in 1984 with principal responsibility for facilities planning. It was under his leadership and direction that the St. Mary's campus plan was developed and implemented.*

The recent history of St. Mary's College of Maryland illustrates the complex issues attending the process of campus planning in the 1980s and 1990s, and exemplifies the benefits to be gained from wrestling with those issues for the sake of a thoughtfully designed campus. The issues stand out with peculiar relief because of the College's distinctive, and unusually sensitive, surroundings.

A public liberal arts college serving 1500 students, St. Mary's College of Maryland is located in St. Mary's City. Considered the most historic site in Maryland, St. Mary's City was the Maryland colony's first settlement and first capital (1634-1694). Virtually all of the College's 275 acres rest within the boundaries of a National Historic Landmark that preserves the colonial site. The Landmark District includes about 800 additional acres as well.

St. Mary's City is regarded as one of the premier 17th century archaeological sites in the United States, one of the best preserved sites of the English colonization of North America. Although no structures remain above ground from the colonial occupation, the archaeological riches below ground have only begun to be discovered and interpreted. The historical significance of St. Mary's City includes a number of very significant "firsts" for both the nation and the state of Maryland. (See box on page 47)

St. Mary's City is also an exceptionally beautiful area. A patchwork of woods, open fields, shaded lawns, bluffs, and beaches, the College campus stretches along the shores of the St. Mary's River, a tidal tributary of the Potomac just upstream from that greater river's juncture with the Chesapeake Bay.

In this lovely historical setting, St. Mary's College doubled in size during the 1960s without a good plan. By the mid-1980s, it was growing again, enhancing the quality of students, faculty, programs, and facilities, with

the aim of becoming a truly extraordinary public college with a national reputation. At the same time, the College was growing increasingly aware of and sensitive to the needs of its setting. In 1984, the celebration of the 350th anniversary of Maryland's founding at St. Mary's City had greatly increased the visibility of the historic area. Meanwhile, new environmental legislation aimed at protecting the Chesapeake had imposed strict regulations over land use in any "critical area"--lands lying within 1000 feet of the Bay or its tidal tributaries. Most of St. Mary's City, including much of the College campus, lay within a critical area.

Clearly, the prospect of expansion in such an area would pose difficult challenges. Fortunately, the College's Board of Trustees and administration recognized the importance of planning and responded to the challenge with determination and creativity.

St. Mary's is now well into a decade-long process of transforming its campus, with strong attention to historical, archaeological, and environmental features. Progress has been steady, but significant challenges have arisen along the way. Largely because they had embraced a planning process, the College's leaders have been able to turn those challenges into opportunities.

A College with Roots in the 1840s

What is now St. Mary's College of Maryland, a public honors college of 1500 students, was founded in 1840 as a female seminary (school for girls) to commemorate the significant 17th century events in St. Mary's City.

The small school grew slowly in the 1800s, developing into an excellent high school by the turn of the century. In 1927 it added a junior college division--the first junior college in Maryland and one of a very few public junior colleges nationwide. By 1964 the high school division had been phased out; the junior college enrollment was about 250; the school had five major buildings and two small houses; the campus had expanded from a mere 11 acres to more than 270; and some people were dreaming of making St. Mary's a four-year college. Leading the dreamers were then-president May Russell and the Board of Trustees. Effective promoters of the College, they convinced the Governor and Legislature to invest heavily in the expansion of College facilities. Twelve of the college's present 24 buildings were built between 1964 and 1970, and one was converted from a gymnasium to a science building. Unfortunately, the buildings, while functional, were undistinguished and placed without benefit of a total campus plan.

Aerial photograph of the St. Mary's College Campus showing a portion of Historic St. Mary's City in the right foreground.

By the late 1960s, the seminary became St. Mary's College of Maryland and the dream of a four-year college was realized. Its full-time enrollment jumped from 350 to 1100 in just over a decade. But only one building, a fine arts center, was constructed. The need for more facilities, student housing and academic, was pressing.

Poised to Expand

By the mid-1980s St. Mary's College of Maryland was poised for expansion. A new president--Edward T. Lewis--arrived in 1983, bringing energy and vision. Within two years of his arrival, planning for two major building projects had begun, and ideas for other development were under discussion.

The key to this era of campus development was identifying the long-term physical needs of the campus to enable the College to achieve its goals. A new position, Vice President for Planning was created to guide a master planning process. The first step was the drafting of a Facilities Master Plan, which cataloged all existing space, evaluated efficiency and function, and defined new spaces needed. The College needed new student residences, for example, as well as a substantially larger library. At least three other major projects were on the list, along with a number of renovation and reconfiguration projects. All this major activity was anticipated for the period 1986-1995.

New funding helped the College begin to implement its plans. In the fall of 1984, St. Mary's was selected as one of eleven schools to receive a three million dollar federal loan, for 30 years at three percent interest, to build new student housing and renovate existing student residences. Also, shortly thereafter, the state approved the facilities plan and provided eight million dollars in design and capital construction funds for the library.

A Comprehensive Plan

In the late spring of 1986, the Board of Trustees recognized that the facilities plans under way were only the beginning of a major transformation of the campus. J. Frank Raley, vice chairman of the Board and a member since 1967, was the first to give voice to a concern that had been nagging a number of people both on the Board and in the administration. It was clear that the College would grow bigger; the question Raley and others asked was, "How are we going to make it better as well?"

With the Board having posed the question, the administration considered various answers. The conclusion was that the College needed a comprehensive plan that addressed qualitative design issues in the context of the whole institution--campus, facilities, and programs--and that worked to help the College achieve its goals. The College decided that the way to create such a plan was to seek experienced and highly regarded outside help in campus planning and the Board authorized immediate action.

To engage the best people in the campus planning field would cost money, money the College did not have in its operating budget. The Trustees, underlining their commitment to do something very special for the College, something that would be a legacy, agreed that this effort should be supported by private funds. They pledged their own resources and their assistance in securing the necessary additional funds. It was a bold decision that set St. Mary's on a course that would transform the campus.

A search began immediately for a consultant with master planning experience on a college campus in an historic setting. One of the persons identified was Jacque Robertson, then Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Virginia. Robertson had recently been honored for his planning work at the University. Like many schools which expanded rapidly in the 60s and 70s, Virginia had departed from its classic campus plan, created by founder Thomas Jefferson. Robertson had put corrective measures in motion there. He was intrigued by the tidewater setting of St. Mary's and its intimate connection with the colonial capital, Historic St. Mary's City--which research had shown was built upon a well-defined concept of baroque town planning. He agreed to take on the College as a client.

Significant Firsts at St. Mary's City

St. Mary's City is one of the most historic locations in the United States. Recognized as a National Historic Landmark since 1969, it it the best preserved archaeological site of a 17th century English city in North America. St. Mary's was the scene of many notable events in America's early history and some of these are listed below.

Events of National Significance

- First Settlement by Marylanders, The 1634 Fort
- First Catholic Chapel in English America, 1635
- First Black to Vote in a Legislature in America, Mathias de Sousa 1642
- Only Evidence of English Civil War in America, Pope's Fort, 1645
- First Practice of Separating Church from State in America
- First Request for Vote From Woman in America, Margaret Brent, 1647
- First Official Religious Toleration in America, The Act of 1649
- First Use of Sophisticated Town Planning in America, circa 1668
- First Example of Georgian Architecture in America, St. Peter's 1677
- First Printing Press in the South, William Nuthead, 1685

Events of State Significance

- First Mill in Maryland, 1635
- First Public Inn in Maryland, circa 1638
- First Industrial Activity in Maryland, Iron and Brick Making, 1630's
- First Protestant Church in Maryland, 1642
- The First Official City in Maryland, 1668
- Maryland's First Statehouse, The Country's House, 1662
- First Monumental Brick Structure in Maryland, The Great Chapel, 1668
- Focus of the 1689 Protestant Rebellion
- Home and Burial Place of First Governor, Leonard Calvert
- Home and Tomb of First Royal Governor, Sir Lionel Copley

Robertson's impact was immediate. In October of 1986, before he and his team even began their evaluation, they were shown the plans for new student housing, a townhouse complex. Groundbreaking was set for November 1, and construction on a design-build basis was to begin immediately thereafter.

"Oh, but it's all wrong," Robertson said bluntly, referring to the placement and orientation of the buildings. The original plan did not take into account an exquisite water vista or an opportunity to create natural green areas that would foster personal interaction and a sense of community. Robertson offered specific suggestions, which the College took back to the architects. Within weeks, the entire site plan was revised and the exterior of the buildings redesigned to address the issues that Robertson had raised. Construction began in December of 1986--as planned.

Robertson moved quickly to begin his analysis, collecting information on the College's history, goals, and plans for the future. He also explored the local history, examined the campus carefully for sensitive environmental and archaeological zones, and interviewed faculty, staff, and students.

By June of 1987, the analysis was concluded. At a public meeting attended by the Board of Trustees, staff, faculty, and many community members, Robertson presented his observations and recommendations. Most of the points he made were self-evident, but the connections he drew between them and the vision he described for the St. Mary's campus of the future were extraordinary. His ideas won broad acceptance and praise, and had immediate impact in shaping and reshaping thinking about the campus. His principal organizing theme was to develop the St. Mary's campus as an "academic tidewater village." Among the recommendations were:

- Establish village limits.
- Establish more and enhance existing "precincts" within the village.
- Connect the precincts with a strong pedestrian circulation system.
- Establish new building sites to unify and integrate the precincts.
- Use landscaping and the creation of "outdoor rooms" as unifying elements.
- Transform the state highway that divided the campus into a unifying boulevard.
- Develop campus design guidelines.

Robertson viewed the tidewater village concept as the best model for St. Mary's. It would draw upon the local architecture, honor the College's historical setting, assure preservation of the attractive natural environment, encourage pedestrian circulation, encourage collegiality and community, and work toward realization of the College's goals. Adopting this concept while developing well-articulated design guidelines, he said, "would enable St. Mary's College to remain a gentle village which makes it an ideal setting for the high caliber of academic achievement." (St. Mary's College Master Plan, p. 40)

The Board accepted the preliminary recommendations in June of 1987, and the "Academic Tidewater Village" quickly became the prevailing theme of campus development. Even as Robertson was preparing the final version of the report and developing the detailed design guidelines, a number of his principal recommendations were put into action. The College contacted the State Highway Administration regarding changes to the highway which bisects the campus. The final design of the commons building that was part of the townhouse complex reflected his recommendation. The design of the library, which was under way during Robertson's work, also followed his concepts and incorporated the new campus standards for architecture. And, more subtly, throughout the campus a new attitude crept into considerations of remodeling or redesigning. Gone was any thought about "good enough." Plans, work, and furnishings were viewed from the perspective of the new design precepts. Throughout the campus an increased appreciation developed for the idea that quality of space--interior and exterior--has a great impact on the experience of students, faculty, and staff at the College.

The plan had accomplished many goals, just as Robertson had anticipated. As he wrote in his report, the master plan "is not so much a set of specific solutions as an attitude about the character of future design decisions. It can and will be amended and reinterpreted but should give guidance and consistency to future development of the campus." (St. Mary's College Master Plan, p. 39)

Planning as an Ongoing Process

By the fall of 1988, when Robertson's final report was submitted, the Board and the College felt very good about their master plan. The townhouse complex had been completed. Construction had begun on the eight million dollar library. Campus attitudes about the plan were positive. The State Highway Administration was working on a plan to change the look of the state road to village boulevard instead of rural highway. And the College had achieved a major breakthrough in discussions with the state about a new science building, one of the key projects of the master facilities plan. The state agreed to place the building in the capital funding schedule for 1990-91, moving it up several years. In return, the College agreed to raise private funds for one fourth of the $16 million project.

The College was making excellent progress on other fronts. Applications were up; average SAT scores of the

freshman class had risen more than 100 points in five years; the size of the faculty was expanding; a new general studies program had been implemented and was enhanced by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities; private fund-raising was up tremendously; and the College had an excellent relationship with the Governor and Legislature. Momentum was strong and getting stronger. But in the spring of 1989, a major challenge to the plan emerged. Robertson's prediction that the planning effort "is and will continue to be an ongoing process" proved true.

THE SCIENCE BUILDING SITE CONTROVERSY

By early 1989, people in the local community had begun to notice the changes at the College. Things were actually happening. The townhouses were complete, and the library was going up fast in the center of the campus. The library, indeed, became a conspicuous presence: a 28,000-square-foot addition to the existing library, rising on a hillside not far from the waterfront, and within sight of the state road. To some local residents, the visual impact was startling. They began to wonder about the next project of the master plan, the 50,000-square-foot science building, which would be located in the same vicinity.

The Robertson plan had proposed putting the science building close to the library and the student center, in order to create more density in the heart of the campus, a central "precinct." In addition to providing a critical mass of activity, the cluster of buildings, Robertson suggested, would offer an architectural and aesthetic structure that would give the campus more unity and cohesiveness and would encourage more pedestrian activity.

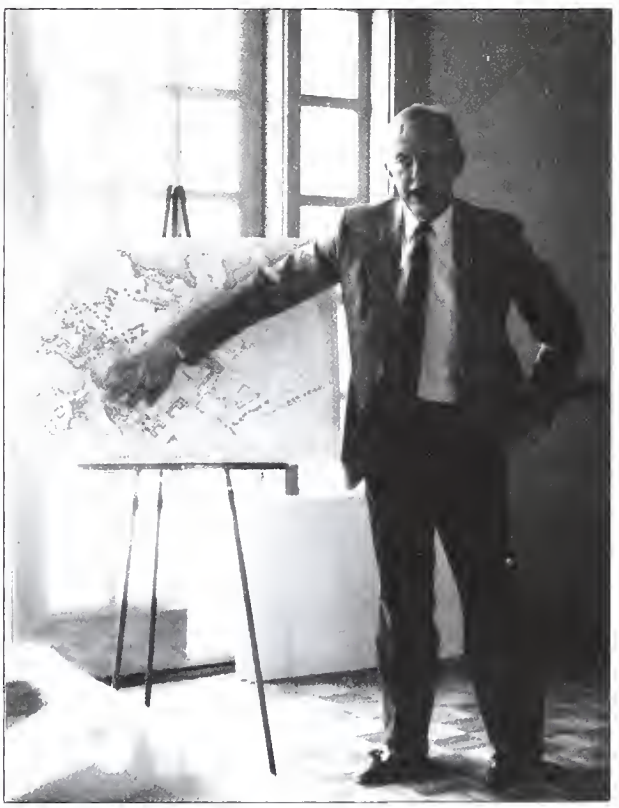
Many people in the local community understood Robertson's plan and supported the College's need for a science building. But some were bothered by the denser development and the visual impact of so many buildings, particularly in a location which they believed was such an important part of the historic district. The area designated by the College for its new science building had not yet been surveyed but was within the historic townlands of colonial capital days. During the master planning process, archaeologists had been consulted about the area; they recommended a survey be made of the site but did not, at that time, assert any need to avoid the historic townlands in new construction.

In the spring of 1989, while an archaeological survey of the proposed site was in progress, opposition to the site began to emerge. A group of local citizens formed an organization called the Historic St. Mary's City Rescue Coalition and mounted a public campaign urging the College to reconsider the site of the science building and to adopt a policy of avoiding the most historic areas completely by placing all new construction on the north side of campus, well away from the waterfront and the center of the original capital. Also, the group urged that before any other construction occur, an archaeological survey of rest of the campus be completed.

The stage was set for a classic confrontation between preservationists and developer, with the College wearing the uncomfortable hat of the developer. It was especially difficult for the College because of the positive feeling internally about the campus plan and because of the urgency the College felt about the need to begin work on the science building. It was also difficult for some in the Coalition who had connections to the College as alumni or community supporters and wanted to see the institution progress.

But the issues were clear and the preservationists' voices strong. The College felt they should be heard. The Board of Trustees established a special committee comprised of Board members, local residents, a faculty member and a student. The committee's task: review the information relative to the issue and make a recommendation to the Board.

Public meetings were held. Information from the archaeological survey, the state's Critical Areas Commission (overseeing the Chesapeake environmental regulations), and the local community group was pre-



Public meetings were held in response to community concerns about the College's development plans.

sented. A major issue was the archaeological survey. While its results were not conclusive, it did show several areas of interest which needed to be further excavated for a better evaluation. The big question was whether the areas were significant enough to be preserved, or could they be excavated and interpreted. The community group embraced the preservationist argument, particularly because of the location adjacent to known important and significant areas.

The controversy transcended the site of the science building. It was also about aesthetics and history. Some people felt the pastoral waterfront setting of the campus could not support the proposed density; others questioned the College's commitment to the historical treasure beneath and surrounding it.

The master plan had incorporated the historical significance of the campus into its major concept--the Tidewater Village of early St. Mary's City--and specifically addressed historical, environmental, and aesthetic issues. But the original plan did not have the benefit of archaeological surveys of the campus. The plan did, however, create a framework for evaluating this new information. Robertson had written that he hoped the plan would "elevate the level of awareness and sensitivity of those who administer and design components of the future campus, to impart a real understanding of the critical issues involved, and to protect and improve the physical setting."

After the public meetings, and considerable media attention on the issue, the President and the Board made a decision: respect history; find another location for the science building; look to the north side of campus for future development. The headline in the Baltimore Sun was "St. Mary's College defers to the past." In the local paper, the Enterprise, the editorial was titled "Both Sides Win."

Selecting a New Site for the Science Building

The science building controversy was a watershed in the history of the College. It was painful and uncomfortable, but also probably inevitable. The College fully realized that even a carefully crafted plan cannot anticipate all situations; that a plan can only provide a framework for thinking about campus development in a holistic way. The original site recommendation for the science building was abandoned, but a process for selecting an alternative site--a planning framework--was in place. And that framework now included an important new element--the College's stated public commitment to the historic site it occupied.

The original master plan had made few recommendations for the north side of campus. It was clear that more analysis needed to be done and that archaeological surveys were critically important to the process. The College contracted for the surveys, while also contracting with a highly regarded landscape architect to review the north campus area and find a new site for the science building.

In addition, the College formally opened its review process so that the public would have a forum for involvement. The Board of Trustees created a Design Advisory Committee composed of board members, faculty, staff, a student, and members of the local community. This committee would hold public meetings to receive and review information about any College construction project or master plan revisions. It would evaluate the information in light of the master plan framework, design guidelines, and archaeological and environmental issues, and make recommendations to the Board.

The Committee was convened in January of 1990 to review the recommendation for an alternate site for the science building. The archaeological survey revealed a large area of high sensitivity on the north campus, an area the College pledged to preserve. The landscape architect, Michael Vergason, working in consultation with the College and architects, incorporated this site analysis into a plan that opened up many opportunities for the campus. In proposing the site for the science building on an existing parking area, Vergason offered a plan that would give the College the opportunity to create a commons area between buildings on the north campus and give more definition and cohesiveness to that area.

His recommendation was a creative solution to correct some problems of the past. In his analysis of the existing campus, Robertson had noted, "Each project undertaken in the past was regarded independently and not as a component of a larger order." His recommendation--and challenge--was clear: "Each proposed project...must be henceforth treated as both a valuable piece of the larger 'puzzle' as well as specifically responsible for achieving those intended goals."

In January the alternative site was approved by the Board, and the science building project began to advance. The Critical Areas Commission approved the site plans, and the architectural design contract was awarded to Bohlin Cywinski Jackson, who were selected in part for their experience and design excellence in areas of historic significance. A spokesperson for the Rescue Coalition gave the Trustees "a high compliment for having the courage and wisdom to move the science building site." She suggested that this decision had "turned the corner to moving the Coalition from activists as opponents to assistants in the project."

Because of the continued public interest in the building, Peter Bohlin and his team of architects visited the campus to present their preliminary ideas and receive public comment. They also visited historic sites in the area and, at the invitation of local residents, several

Architect's rendering of the science building

tidewater manor homes.

Yet another challenge appeared. In March of 1990 a contract was let to complete the archaeological survey of the north campus. Because the science building would be built upon an existing parking lot, areas for replacement parking lots had to be identified. The archaeological survey revealed some 18th and 19th century resources in one of the proposed parking areas. Of particular interest was the suggestion that the site had evidence of 19th century inhabitation. The College had to face yet another decision about archaeological remains. The same questions arose: Are all areas of previous settlement untouchable, or just the areas with 17th century evidence? Could this site be mitigated (excavated and interpreted)? Should it be preserved? Were there other alternatives for a parking area? What are the costs?

The College sought advice from many sources, seeking solutions other than the most traditional, expensive, and time consuming. A suggestion from the National Park Service proved especially helpful in fashioning a plan for the parking area. The solution was to lay a protective fabric over the ground and build the lot by bringing in gravel on top rather than excavating. The buried artifacts remained undisturbed, available for excavation some time in the future when time, technology, and funds might be more available. Plans were approved by the Maryland Historical Trust and other agencies, and the lots were finally constructed in the summer of 1991, with full preservation of the site and significant cost savings.

Another concern was the environment, an issue that had been recognized and addressed in the original master plan. The College hired a consulting firm to review the campus and, in particular, to offer advice for handling runoff from the planned science building, the new parking areas, and other north campus development. A plan was developed to reduce stormwater runoff well in excess of State of Maryland Critical Areas Commission guidelines. The plan also suggested a way to create infiltration basins that would be both a natural amenity and an outdoor laboratory in the biology program.

By December of 1991 all the necessary elements were in place and construction of the science building was begun. It was a creative design that would transform the character of the north campus, giving it integrity and beauty. Drawing from the architectural style of the region, the design incorporates elements of 17th and 18th century Tidewater Maryland architecture: brick construction, paired chimneys, peaked roofs, and simple lines. The building also encloses and forms a green--another "outdoor room" consistent with the master plan recommendations.

Engaging "Creative Tension" to Complete the North Campus Plan

Having set the science building project into motion, the College now turned attention to completing the plan for the north side of campus. The archaeological survey identified areas of sensitivity and ranked them in order of importance. The area surrounding the St. John's site, for example, was deemed highly sensitive and was considered completely off limits for development. Other areas were designated as sensitive areas that needed further exploration and possibly mitigation, but could support some development. Finally, areas with no significant cultural resources were identified.

Next, needs for future construction were more clearly defined--housing for an additional 160 students, expansion of the gymnasium, dual auditoria seating 400 and 1100, and the possibility of one more classroom building.

Finding proper sites for these buildings within the imperative of preserving historical and environmental resources called for a highly creative effort. In truth, precious few of the 275 acres of the campus was deemed "available" for new construction. To confront this challenge, the College took the unusual approach of hiring two very talented professionals, Peter Bohlin and Michael Vergason, to work collaboratively to create the master plan for the north campus.

Both had worked with the College before. Bohlin, the architect of both the library and the science building, was primarily interested in building form and character. Vergason, whose initial analysis of the north campus resulted in the new site for the science building was primarily interested in interrelationships between buildings and the natural environment. For College staff, watching the two work together was witnessing creativity in action. The positive tension between the two generated a solution that all agreed would not have surfaced without the collaboration. Once having arrived at the broad outline for siting buildings, the two worked further to develop specific elements of the most creative piece of their plan--the site and design of the new townhouse-style student housing.

Identifying the site for the housing was a breakthrough in the collaborative process. With archaeological and environmental considerations limiting the space available for construction sites, the planners focused on an otherwise ignored area at the west end of the track and stadium. They proposed a novel crescent design following the lines of the track's oval that would accommodate the 40 townhouse units as well as establish relationships with the existing townhouses and commons building and the science building. A "hammerhead" design was used for one end of the crescent and a traditional Tidewater "telescope" design for the other. Chimneys, windows, and walk-through archways were incorporated to strengthen relationships with existing buildings.

By May of 1992, the team was ready. The Board's Design Advisory Committee held public meetings to review the plan for development of the north campus and the preliminary designs for the new housing. The Board of Trustees approved both plans enthusiastically at its June, 1992, meeting. Bohlin and his team were engaged to complete the design of the housing. The project was bid in the fall of 1992; construction began in February of 1993. Twenty of the forty units are expected to be ready for occupancy by the fall of 1993, the same time the science building is scheduled for completion.

More to Come

The St. Mary's plan is far from complete, but part of its strength is its capacity to absorb each project without a feeling of incompleteness. As each project comes to fruition, it contributes to the overall sense of place on the campus, but it does not require a subsequent project for closure, that is, it does not create a "tragic flaw" architecturally or aesthetically.

The State Highway Administration has begun work on the state road through campus which will transform the existing country road into the long-planned village boulevard. Gymnasium expansion, including outside field development, is on schedule for 1995. This project, in addition to creating much-needed athletic and recreational facilities, will further develop the commons area created by the science building. The dual auditoria await decisions on funding. When constructed, they will complement the other buildings on the north campus. Elsewhere on campus, an expansion of the student center is set for 1994-95--another project that will require considerable creativity and enormous sensitivity to both the adjacent historical sites and the environment. It will be designed to form stronger relationships with the library and its courtyard.

Will the College face more complex challenges as the projects continue? Probably. The needs of the academic community juxtaposed with the sensitivity of the environment and the historical setting will always need careful evaluation. But St. Mary's College is well-situated to meet those challenges. It invested in a complex and sophisticated master plan and design guidelines, based on the theme of an Academic Tidewater Village, that established a framework for planning and project evaluation. Most of all, the College understands that its sense of place is central to the overall success of its academic community.CP

The Effects of Organizational Culture on Strategic Marketing Planning at Universities

Barbara Sporn

Universities face an increasing complexity in their social and economic environment. Student demand is growing while state resources are shrinking. Marketing a university in order to attract students and running fund-raising campaigns is becoming more and more important. An external focus of the university members is necessary to adapt to these changes.

The concept of university culture used in this work emphasizes the values and beliefs of university members, which are developed in a historical process and transmitted by language or symbols (Deal and Kennedy, 1992). They strongly influence the decision making in universities (Sporn, 1992). Strategic marketing planning is the process of defining the direction of an institution by focusing on goals, resources, markets and changing opportunities (Kotler and Fox, 1985). From a management perspective, strategic marketing can be seen as leadership concentrated on external exchange of services (Raffee, 1989; Bruhn and Tilmes, 1989). Organizational culture is essential in the process of setting goals and defining a mission. Achieving a fit between strategy and culture is a key to the successful implementation of a marketing perspective inside universities.

University Culture Defined

University culture evolves from the confrontation of the university with the environment and the university structure. The members develop specific beliefs, values and attitudes by interaction. The culture then influences the intentions and the mission inside the university. Goal and strategy formulation can therefore be limited to certain alternatives which fit the culture. Figure 1 shows that strategic marketing planning at universities has to take culture into consideration. Furthermore, changing the orientation inside universities by the implementation of strategic marketing influences the values, beliefs and attitudes of university members. Generally, the central idea of understanding university culture is "to minimize the occurrence and consequences of cultural conflict and help foster the development of shared goals" (Tierney, 1988).

A Model of University Cultures

Every organization has a culture. Where some cultures help an organization cope with environmental changes, others become an obstacle to the adoption of

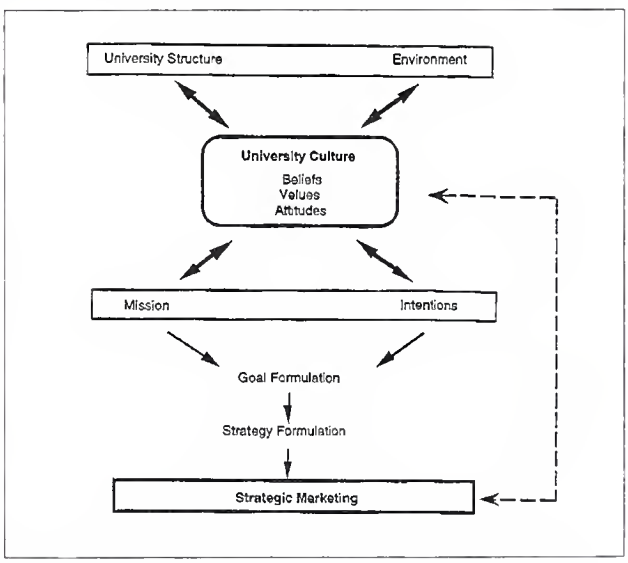


Figure 1: Relationship of university culture to strategic marketing.

***Dr. Barbara Sporn** is an Assistant Professor of General Management at Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien. She is serving as the coordinator of the symposium "University and Society," co-sponsored by Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien and U.N.C.-Chapel Hill, which will be held June 9-10, 1994 in Vienna, Austira. A summary of the symposium follows Dr. Sporn's article.*

external changes (Arnold and Capella, 1985). A typology of four different types of university cultures-based on the work of Arnold and Capella-allows the evaluation of the implementation chances of marketing concepts at universities. The two dimensions of this typology are the strength and the orientation of the university culture. Strength implies the degree of fit between culture, structure and strategy. Orientation is the focus of the values, attitude and belief of university members. This leads to four different types of university culture (Figure 2).

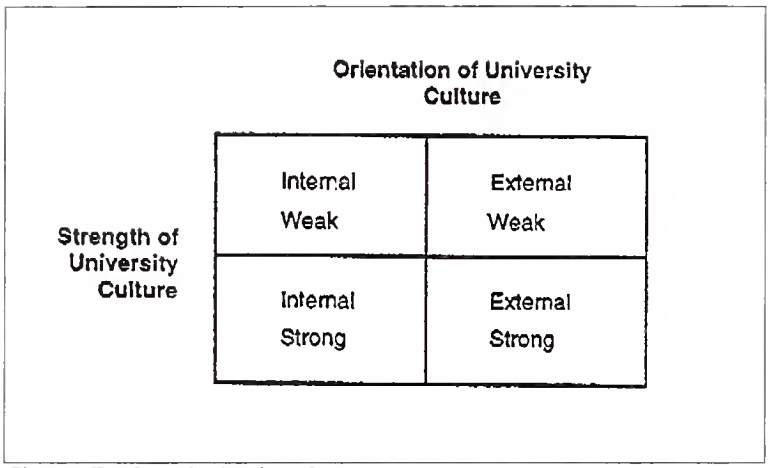


Figure 2. Typology of university culture.

Since strength as well as orientation of university culture are relevant for the establishment of a marketing concept the different types can help to make strategic marketing planning more efficient. The basic assumptions are that: strong cultures are more successful than weak ones, and externally-oriented cultures are necessary for the integration of a marketing perspective inside universities.

In detail weak, internally focussed cultures have divergent values, beliefs and attitudes. The main characteristics are subcultures with their work being concentrated on internal affairs. Weak cultures with an external orientation also show subcultures but they are interested in the environment. They can be successful in a changing environment. In strong, internally focussed cultures, uniform values, beliefs and attitudes dominate. They are adequate in stable environments, but they will run into problems as soon as changes arise. The members of strong and externally-oriented cultures share the same values, beliefs and attitudes. They have the capacity of reacting flexibly to changes.

Conclusion

University culture can be identified as a main factor for socialization, development of values, interaction, continuity and satisfaction inside universities. Examination of the role of a university's culture on the implementation of strategic marketing planning leads to several insights: 1) the integration of university culture in the management process of universities leads university leadership in a new direction; 2)marketing concepts for universities can be implemented efficiently if strategy and culture fit together; and 3) the relationship of university culture and marketing planning can best be illustrated by a typology that describes four types of university culture with different implications for the university management.

For universities which develop a marketing concept in order to achieve an external focus, knowledge of the university culture provides a basis for better understanding the internal processes and possibilities for change.CP

References

Arnold, R. A., Capella, L. M.," Corporate Culture and the Marketing Concept: A Diagnostic Instrument For Utilities", in *Public Utilities Fortnightly*, 116 (8), October 17, 1985.

Bruhn, M., Times,J., *Social Marketing*, Verlag Kohlhammer Edition Marketing, Stuttgart 1989.

Deal, E., Kennedy, A.A., *Corporate Culture-The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*, Addison-Wesley, Reading Massachusetts 1982.

Kotler, Ph., Fox, K.F.A., *Strategic Marketing for Educational Institutions*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1985.

Raffee, H., *Geganstand, Methoden und Konzepte der Betriebeswirtschaftslehre*, in Bitz, M. (Hrsg.), *Vahlens Kompendium der Betriebswirtschaftlehre*, Band 1, Verlag Vahlen, Munchen, 1989.

Sporn, B.,*Universitatskultur-Ausgangspunkt fur eine strategische Marketing Planung an Universitaten*, Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg, 1992.

Tierney, W.G., "Organizational Culture in Higher Education", in *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 59, 1988.

University and Society: International Perspectives on Public Policies and Institutional Reform

An Invitational Symposium, June 9-10, 1994

One of the events which will take place during UNC-Chapel Hill's bicentennial observance is a symposium which will examine the increasing social demands being placed upon universities and the organizational changes that may be required to sustain the university's essential contribution to society. The event is being sponsored by Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien and The University of North Carolina at Chapel and co-sponsored by the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research and will be held on

June 9-10, 1994 at the Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien, Vienna, Austria. The symposium is an official event of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Bicentennial Observance. Following is a brief excerpt from the Symposium's invitational brochure, including the theme, format and program.

The symposium will serve as a forum of the struggle which many countries of Eastern and Western Europe are currently facing concerning the appropriate balance between societal demands, governmental regulation and university autonomy. The focus is the traditional university, those largely, self-governing centers of instruction and research in Europe and United States which grant the doctorate or its equivalent. Since many of the demands now affecting major universities stem from governmental reforms, either increased regulations, or the freeing of market forces, issues of national policy and their institutional implications will be covered.

Underlying many of these reforms are assumptions about the university's role as an agent for social development-as an instrument for basic research, local economic development, and social mobility. The program will include presentations on the relationship between the university and society from a historical perspective, on the changing policy environment for contemporary universities and on potential responses by universities to this new environment. The sessions are designed to enhance exchange between individuals critical to the debate including university leaders, national policy makers and international scholars.

Symposium Program

Wednesday, June 8, 1994

Welcome Reception at the Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien

Addresses: Rektor Fritz Scheuch, WU
Chancellor Paul Hardin, UNC-CH

Thursday, June 9, 1994

Introductory Address: An Historical Perspective on the Role of the University in Social Development

Speaker: Professor Sheldon Rothblatt, University of California at Berkeley Director of the Center for Studies in Higher Education

The New Demands and Underlying Assumptions

Governmental Reforms and Initiatives Regarding the Relationship Between the University and Society: The Contemporary Context in Europe, the UK, and the US

Speaker: Professor Guy Neave, Director of the International Association of Universities, Paris

The University as an Instrument for the Development of Science and Basic Research: An Assessment of National Policies

Speaker: Professor Michael Gibbons, University of Sussex Director of the Science Policy Research Unit

The University as an Instrument for Economic and Business Development: Human Capital, Technology Transfer and Regional Development Approaches

Speakers: Professor Harvey Goldstein, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of City and Regional Planning

Professor Gunther Maier, Wirtschaftsuniversitat Wien Interdisciplinary Institute of Urban Regional Studies

The University as an Instrument for Social Mobility: the Potential and Perils of Mass Higher Education

Speaker: Professor Helga Nowotny, Universitat Wien Institute for Social Studies of Science

Friday, June 10, 1994

Implications for University Organization

University Leadership, Management and Structure: Adaptive Strategies for the New Environment

Speaker: Professor Marvin Peterson, University of Michigan Director of the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education

Academic Differentiation: The Implications of Governmental Policies and Competition for Forms of Academic Organization

Speaker: Professor Burton Clark, University of California at Los Angeles, Comparitive Higher Education Group

Alternatives for Financing Higher Education: Potential Reforms and Implications for University Administration

Speaker: Professor Gareth Williams, University of London Director of the Centre for Higher Education Studies

The New Context for Academic Quality: Quality Standards, Performance Indicators, and the Consequences for University Improvement Strategies

Speaker: Professor Frans van Vught, University of Twente Director of the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies

Closing Panel: University 2001: What Will the University of the 21st Century Look Like?

Attacking the Racial Isolation of the Underclass: Explanations and Strategies for a New Era

David K. Godschalk

Twenty-five years after the Kerner Commission issued its report on urban poverty and civil disorders, urban African-American communities face a situation that has grown steadily worse.[1] The most blatant legal obstacles to African-Americans have been struck down, but societal discrimination and economic inequality still prevent many blacks from enjoying a status that is truly equal. As the nation's population has become more urban, the populations of the central cities have become disproportionately African-American, Hispanic, and Asian.[2] Poverty in America has decreased in non-metropolitan areas while growing rapidly in the central cities.[3] The impact of this increase has fallen most heavily on residents of the 'ghetto neighborhoods'[4] described by the Kerner Commission, sixty-five percent of whom are African-Americans.[5] The number of poor persons living in ghetto neighborhoods increased by 30 percent between 1970 and 1980, at which time almost a third of all metropolitan blacks lived in a ghetto.[6]

Recent studies have suggested that a fundamental change in the nature of urban poverty has accompanied its statistical increase. These studies point to the existence of a new sociological group: the 'urban underclass.' While there is no firm consensus over how the underclass differs from what used to be known as the lower class, there is general agreement that the underclass is characterized by high levels of joblessness, illiteracy, violence, despair, and a growing economic, spatial, and cultural isolation from "mainstream" America.[7]

Disagreement abounds over the cause or causes of the social problems faced by the black urban underclass. The post-industrial transformation of the American economy, the so-called 'culture of poverty,' contemporary racism, the legacy of slavery and the sharecropper system, the failure of Great Society social programs: all have been cited as factors that created and nourished the burgeoning underclass.[8] These factors, and the poverty and isolation faced by urban African-Americans, should be seen not as fundamental causes in and of themselves, but as effects necessarily resulting from the inherent structure of American society at this time.

One way to understand these effects is through the perspective of a distinguished urban philosopher, Lewis Mumford, who devoted much of his life to putting the problems of the city into a historical and cultural context. Mumford's theory was that societies can be described by their affinity for either of two opposing principles: the Organic and the Mechanic. As a result of the essentially mechanic culture of the United States, as described by Mumford, these problems may be alleviated by substantive changes in the way Americans view their lives and relationships, especially relationships across and within racial lines. That these changes have already begun is illustrated by the resurgence of organic themes in the postmodern and multicultural movements.

These changes in the culture of America provide an opportunity to reevaluate the goals and methods of urban reform. New policies are needed which will attack both the poverty of the underclass and its social and spatial isolation.

An understanding of the causes of these social problems does not necessarily imply a solution; however, a

David K. Godschalk is a third year law student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He also holds a bachelor's degree in Art History from UNC-CH. *This essay won the first place award in the inaugural Weiss Essay Competition on Urban Livability. The competition was held in conjunction with the symposium, "Race, Poverty and the American City: The Kerner Commission in Retrospect" and was funded through the Professors Charles and Shirley Weiss Urban Livability Program.*

greater comprehension of the new era into which America is moving suggests new ways to attack its urban crises.

A New Model of Causation

Previously, attempts to remedy the lot of the urban underclass have been premised on a causal relationship between economic and social factors. The economic factors, such as unemployment, low wages, and the spatial mismatch between employment and population, have been seen as the cause of social problems, such as crime, welfare dependency, family neglect, drug abuse, and homelessness.[9] Because of this apparent causal relationship, recent remedial proposals have focused on the importance of economic remedies: job creation, economic renewal, and skills training, for example.[10] When the urban poor have jobs and decent wages, so the argument goes, the social problems will decrease.[11]

Both common sense and empirical evidence support the truth of this proposition.[12] However, there is growing recognition that the social problems engendered by living in impoverished neighborhoods are not just a secondary effect--they have become a major cause of joblessness and economic dislocation. Studies have demonstrated, for instance, that residence in ghetto neighborhoods tends to affect economic opportunities directly, through employer hiring decisions, and indirectly, through contributory factors like educational choices and teen pregnancy rates.[13]

The negative effects of ghetto life are concentrated by its growing social and spatial isolation. This isolation is aggravated by the impact of exogenous economic and social factors like the suburbanization of employment, the outmigration of middle- and working-class blacks, and continuing "white flight" from the cities.[14]

Given the interrelationship of the economic and social factors, the model positing an economic cause with social effects may no longer be useful. Rather, these economic and social problems should be seen as coequal causes of the growth of the underclass and as necessary results of what Lewis Mumford termed the "mechanic" nature of American society.

Mechanics and Organics: The Theories of Lewis Mumford

Lewis Mumford, who died in 1990 at the age of ninety-four, was the author of numerous books and articles on topics ranging from art and literature to urbanism and technology; the best known among them are probably *The Culture of Cities* (1938), on urban development, and three on the subject of technology and culture, *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and the two-volume *The Myth of the Machine* (1967).

Throughout his diverse body of work one finds a single premise: that human society is shaped by the opposition of two fundamental principles, the Organic and the Mechanic.[15] (Mumford derived his concept of that opposition from the works of many of the writers he admired, including Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, Spengler, and others.[16]) The Mechanic principle represents uniformity, standardization, replaceability, regulation, and freedom from the imposition of human values -- the basic principles of the modernist movement. In contrast, those concepts falling under the Organic are individuality, subjectivity, the inclusion of value with fact, "the warm life of private sensations and private feelings and private perceptions"[17] -- many of the same ideas currently enjoying a resurgence as postmodernism. Mumford thought that the best society is one that balances the two, but he saw the Mechanic as ascendant in Europe and America from the time of the Industrial Revolution. (Mumford found evidence of this growing imbalance in matters such as the regularization of time, the increase in mechanical power, the multiplication of goods, the contraction of time and space through high-speed transportation, the standardization of performance and product, the transfer of skill to automata, and the increase in collective interdependence.[18]) While a firm believer in the value of true scientific progress, Mumford felt that the decline in organic principles and the rise in mechanic ones was reaching dangerous levels in contemporary America, and that this imbalance in values was driving the nation towards social collapse and military Armageddon.[19]

It was in *The Myth of the Machine I* that he developed the concept of the Megamachine. Mumford's theory was that cultures could become so "over-mechanized" as to become, in effect, a vast machine--"a system made up of interchangeable parts, inanimate and animate, human, mechanical, and institutional, centrally organized and controlled".[20]

> "If a machine be defined. . . as a combination of resistant parts, each specialized in function, operating under human control, to utilize energy and to perform work, then [the pyramid culture of ancient Egypt] was in every aspect a genuine machine: all the more because its components, though made of human bone, nerve, and muscle, were reduced to their bare mechanical elements and rigidly standardized for the performance of their limited tasks."[21]

In such a "Megamachine culture," the role of its parts (the members of society) becomes subservient to the function of the whole, much like a cog in a machine, "a standardized servo-mechanism, a left-over part from a more organic world."[22] The megamachine culture, according to Mumford, is characterized by a vast bureaucracy, an increasingly specialized labor force, the proliferation of "compensatory functions" like mass spectator sports, and separation between the workers and those

who live in idleness on the surplus extracted from the worker, devoting their lives to the elaborate "performance of leisure" and to the control of the wealth-producing megamachine.[23] The existence of such a culture was to Mumford a sign of Mechanic values gone out-of-control, of a society whose members focus their energies on performance, production, and the acquisition of material wealth, to the detriment of their own "inner" lives.

In such a culture, its members would be valued according to the value of their contribution and their performance, as assessed by external indicators like wealth, power, and position. Valuation of a specific individual would largely depend on the position of that individual in the social and programmatic hierarchy. The individual at the bottom of the hierarchy is the one who is poor, powerless, and without a job. Contributing nothing to the common economic life, he is isolated from the productive classes and relegated to the margins of society.

The Marginalization of the Underclass

That is essentially what has happened to the black urban underclass, according to the Kerner Commission Report and to contemporary analysts. The Kerner Commission wrote of African-Americans in the ghetto being denied access to "the two basic aspirations of our society," those being "the material resources of our system and its intangible benefits--dignity, respect, and acceptance."[24] Wilson sees an underclass whose primary predicament is unemployment "reinforced by growing social isolation."[25] Discussions of the underclass invariably refer to it as marginal, isolated, or separated from mainstream America.[26]

Plagued by unemployment and poverty, members of the underclass are denied not only material success but the benefits that accrue to it, such as dignity, respect, and participation in the mainstream of society. The marginalization of black members of the underclass is exacerbated by the legacy of racial segregation and discrimination.[27]

This marginalization, in turn, compounds itself--it widens the cultural chasm between the underclass and mainstream society and thereby frustrates the success of solely economic remedies for joblessness and poverty. The effects of this isolation are reflected in inadequate access to job networks for ghetto residents, lack of involvement in quality schools, lack of exposure to informal mainstream social networks, and the resulting difficulty in obtaining quality employment.[28]

Given this situation, what Mumford's theory about organic and mechanic values offers is a conceptual framework in which to reconsider the remedies aimed at the problems of the urban underclass. If the isolation of the underclass results from the tendency of a mechanistic society to value its members solely according to their economic position, then the problem of the underclass may be addressed in two ways: its members must achieve more economic success, and/or the societal standards of valuation that produce that isolation must change. If that isolation has become a barrier to the economic achievement of its members, as has been shown, then that achievement will occur more rapidly when the isolation and its subsequent effects have been removed.

It has been argued that to predicate positive change in ghetto conditions on a deep, structural change in the nation's value system is to condemn the underclass to suffering for the foreseeable future.[29] However, some reshaping in values is inevitable over the years, and there is evidence that changes are now occurring which may alter valuation of the underclass for the better.

These changes, evident in postmodernism and multiculturalism, create a context supportive of efforts to attack the social isolation of the underclass that slows its economic achievement. A policy combining subjective (organic) remedies with economic (mechanistic) ones offers the most hope for reducing the isolation of the black urban underclass.

Post Modernism and Multiculturalism

Support for the premise that basic changes in national values are occurring can be drawn from various areas, including the postmodern movement in art and architecture and the pop culture phenomenon known as "multiculturalism".[30] The presence of organic themes identified by Mumford in the postmodern and multicultural movements illustrates these movements' anti-mechanistic nature.

Aesthetic fields, such as art and architecture, are currently dominated by the idea of 'postmodernism'. While "[n]o one exactly agrees what is meant by the term,"[31] postmodernism generally symbolizes a reaction against the strictures of modernism--purity, rationality, simplicity, technocentrism, minimalism, 'the esthetic experience of the machine'[32]. Postmodernism, frequently associated with poststructuralism, instead emphasizes context, heterogeniety, difference, subjectivity, fragmentation, indeterminacy, human significance, critique of authority, and the use of recognizable symbols to convey multiple dimensions of meaning.[33] This postmodern reaction constitutes a re-emergence of the values of Mumford's Organic principle, and a rejection of the Mechanistic precepts of production, consumption and control, and its aesthetic subtext of Modernism--"the formal aesthetics of corporate capitalism and the bureaucratic state."[34]

The anti-modern, anti-mechanistic nature of postmodernism can be seen in its criticism of the status quo. Criticism of the mechanistic reduction of art (human expression) to a market commodity can be found in

earlier works from 1950-1970.[35] In recent years, the target of criticism has changed, from the market system itself to the society that supports such a system. "The issues five years ago were money and power in a generalized way," says Martha Wilson, director of a Manhattan exhibition space. "The shows this year are more sociological -- how culture works, how values change."[36] The emergence of this criticism in art parallels "the increasingly sectarian divisions of society," which are the basis of multiculturalism.[37]

Multiculturalism attacks the culture of the mainstream (frequently represented in multiculturalist discourse by the "white male") and promotes recognition of communities that have historically been marginalized.[38] The multicultural movement rejects the present mechanic system and represents a move to establish the alterity, or Otherness[39], of the white male and thereby de-marginalize groups (like African-Americans, gays and lesbians, and other 'minority' groups) that were formerly marginal. This "othering" is the process by which the dominant group codifies the differences of non-members and separates them[40] -- by turning it back upon the dominant mainstream culture, "[m]arginality, in effect, becomes the norm".[41] The move to re-establish subjective centrality among marginalized groups undercuts the standards of mechanistic valuation and allows members of those groups, like the black urban underclass, to praise and cherish their own experience as valid and important.

It is the basic precepts of the multicultural movement--that the old societal standards are wrong, that the culture which created them is racist and oppressive--that makes the debate over its acceptance so strident and divisive. Yet the underlying message--the importance of individuals, regardless of economic status or ethnic background--is generally accepted. The relevance of the multicultural movement to discussions of the underclass lies in the implications it holds for the marginalized status of the underclass. True societal acceptance of its message (rather than just lip service) will produce a social climate more conducive to the reintegration of the urban underclass into the rest of society. These might not be the "deep, structural changes" necessary to end the isolation of the underclass, but they may be the first step.

Potential Solutions: Applying Organic Remedies

Whether or not there is a lasting change in the value system of America, the current interest in marginalized groups provides an opportunity to reshape urban policy to make the inner cities more livable. The very title of the winning Clinton/Gore campaign platform, "Putting People First," suggests that programs emphasizing human-oriented, organic solutions in conjunction with traditional mechanistic economic remedies like enterprise zones and job skills training would be well-received both by the Clinton administration and, perhaps, by the electorate as a whole.

Rather than looking to modernist ideas of large-scale, technologically rational and efficient urban plans backed by austere functionalist architecture, a postmodern/organic urban policy should cultivate a conception of the urban fabric as necessarily fragmented and should, through sensitivity to vernacular tradition, local history, and community wants and needs, find a way to express the "aesthetics of diversity."[42] (Architect Leon Krier, one of Prince Charles' advisers, suggests a city made up of independent urban quarters, "cities within a city," much like the Greenwich Village described by Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.[43] It should eschew monofunctional zoning that spatially isolates different uses in favor of mixed-use development that will encourage the integration of diverse uses. More attention should be paid to urban design, an important part of the 'language of the city.'

One particular aspect of urban policy to be considered is a change in public housing from the form of massive high-rise projects to the 'neo-traditional' neighborhood developments enjoying such interest at present. Developments of this sort help promote a 'livable' inner city and further the goals of economic and racial integration as embodied in the Gautreaux program in Chicago.

New Design for the Inner Cities

The *Gautreaux* holding[44] resulted in a change in Chicago housing policy which attempted to dilute the effects of urban poverty by opening up housing opportunities in the suburbs.[45] The benefits of increased employment, safety, and personal motivation enjoyed by its participants testify to the importance of programs such as this one.[46] However, common sense suggests that not all members of the black urban underclass will be relocated to the suburbs, and it is likely that at least some will choose to remain in predominantly black urban areas. Therefore, programs designed to meet the needs of urban African-Americans living in poverty must improve conditions in the inner city.

One opportunity for improvement is the federal public housing program. The construction of housing developments in the inner city offers an opportunity to directly shape the urban environment. Greater attention to designing a livable environment, complemented by a policy of economic redevelopment, can help alleviate the effects of urban racial isolation.

In 1968, the Housing and Urban Development Act placed some restrictions on the construction of high-rise public housing blocks like the Pruitt and Igoe Housing Projects in St. Louis, which were closed in 1970. (The

symbolic end of modernism and the passage to the postmodern has been said to have occurred on July 15, 1972, when the Pruitt-Igoe development, a "prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's 'machine for modern living'", was dynamited as an uninhabitable environment.[47]) This was an early attempt to remedy spatial and design problems that were detrimental to living conditions in public housing developments. Continuing action on this front is needed to improve conditions both in public housing and in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Proponents of improved design for public housing are frequently criticized for making aesthetic judgments without empirical bases or for not properly appreciating the prohibitive cost of such features.[48] However, the importance of design in shaping urban experience and providing a setting for human behavior is supported both by theory and evidence. "If we experience architecture as communication, if, as [Roland] Barthes... insists, 'the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language,' then we ought to pay close attention to what is being said, particularly since we typically absorb such messages in the midst of all the other manifold distractions of urban life."[49] Studies have shown, furthermore, that design issues have a definite impact in terms of crime reduction, personal safety, and general resident satisfaction.

Crime has been identified in studies reaching back to the 1970's as the most serious concern of the urban poor.[50] (The Kerner Commission wrote that "[n]othing is more fundamental to the quality of life in any area than the sense of personal security of its residents, and nothing affects this more than crime."[51]) In a 1982 study, Canadian researchers found that regardless of the socio-economic characteristics of the residents, the physical form of housing plays an important role in reducing crime.[52] Building design was important in encouraging residents to assert control over public areas; in addition, ground-oriented buildings were more likely to produce a sense of possession, and ultimately of responsibility, among the resident community.[53]

Greater attention to good design can also help reduce the negative perceptions of large-scale developments. While large buildings are frequently considered synonymous with the failure of public housing,[54] a report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation found building design to be more important than size. Low-rise developments, both large and small, received virtually unanimous positive reactions from residents.[55]

Comments made by residents supported the idea that organic design qualities have a positive impact. They said that the outside appearance of buildings was important because it reflected their "own reputations" and because the better developments looked "more like a home, not just a building."[56] The list of positive and negative design qualities selected by residents in a survey reads like a virtual recapitulation of Mumford's organic/mechanic dichotomy. Positive qualities included variation, staggered buildings, and personal entries.[57] Negative qualities included flat facades, repetition, office-like appearances, stacked apartments, blank fronts, and lack of separation--the very hallmarks of the mechanistic Modern style.[58]

One example of new development which demonstrates the potential of an urban policy blending sensitivity to the needs of the community with a design program incorporating local traditions and human-oriented architecture is the plan for the Randolph Neighborhood in Richmond, Virginia.[59] Residents of the decaying urban neighborhood pushed the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority to rebuild Randolph as a traditional neighborhood, taking into account the area's history and character, rather than filling the area with clusters of public housing centered around courtyards and surrounded by parking lots. The neighborhood development plan now contains a patchwork of small detached, attached, and townhouse-style houses of generally unified appearance, sporting front porches, bordering "traditional" streets.[60] In a reverse-Gautreaux twist, the neighborhood blends subsidized housing with houses sold at market rate -- often to young black professionals.[61] This is not a case of devastating urban renewal[62] or gentrification where poor residents are dislocated to make way for a flood of yuppies; it is a model for a return to economic integration in America's cities and for the de-marginalization of the underclass.[63]

Conclusion

Lewis Mumford's theory of the opposition of the organic and the mechanic principles offers a useful conceptual framework with which to address the plight of the black urban underclass. His theory demonstrates how a society dominated by the mechanic principle values its members according to their contributions and their positions on the culture's hierarchy, and how such valuations can result in the formation of an underclass isolated from the rest of the population. Mumford also suggests that the best society is one that balances the organic and the mechanic, and he believes that to remedy the effects of over-mechanization there must be a greater emphasis on organic themes such as the importance of variety, individuality, and subjective experience.

The associated movements of postmodernism and multiculturalism offer evidence of a return to organic themes and a shift away from mechanistic ones. Such a shift may help alleviate the social isolation of the black urban underclass. The resurgence of organic themes in these movements also offers an opportunity for changes in urban policy that would supplement mechanistic

economic remedies with human-oriented organic ones. Organic remedies are necessary to end the spatial and cultural isolation of the black urban underclass, just as mechanistic remedies are needed for economic improvement.

By pursuing an urban policy that linked economic and racial desegregation of the suburbs with similar reintegration of the inner cities, the spatial isolation of the urban underclass can be reduced. With such a reduction, contact between the urban underclass and the mainstream will increase, which will in turn prevent further widening of the cultural chasm dividing the two groups. Members of the underclass will have increased access to the role models and job networks, cited by Wilson, that promote economic opportunity. Decreases in spatial and social isolation will raise employment and personal wealth, which will continue to fuel the de-marginalization and reintegration of the black urban underclass. Increased human contact and the de-marginalization of poor African-Americans may also help alleviate the fear that has driven middle-class whites out of the cities.

This is not about building nice houses rather than apartment blocks in neighborhoods like Richmond's Randolph. It is about creating a community that will foster a safe, friendly atmosphere and will meet the daily needs of its inhabitants. It is about ending the economic and social conditions that contribute to the continuing isolation and inequality of the black urban underclass. Ultimately, it is about shaping vital, livable cities that promote coexistence and interaction between increasingly diverse segments of the urban American population.CP

References

Anderson, Elijah, "Neighborhood Effects on Teenage Pregnancy." In *The Urban Underclass*. Ed. Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Petersen. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991. (hereinafter *The Urban Underclass*.) pp.375-398.

Becker, Franklin D.. *Design for Living: The Residents' View of Multi-Family Housing*. Final Report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1974.

Boger, John Charles and Stegman, Michael A.. *The Kerner Commission in Retrospect: Race and the American City, An Introduction*. Presented at the Weiss Symposium on Urban Livability, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 1993.

Cembalest, Robin, "The We Decade." ART news, Sept. 1992, pp.62-71.

Clinton, Governor Bill and Gore, Senator Al. *Putting People First: How We Can All Change America*. New York: Times Books, 1992. pp.52-62.

Crane, Jonathan, "Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.299-320.

de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1952.

Freeman, Richard B., "Employment and Earnings of Disadvantaged Young Men in a Labor Shortage Economy." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.103-121.

Greenstone, J. David, "Culture, Rationality and the Underclass." In *The Urban Underclass*. p.403.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Hughes, Thomas P., and Hughes, Agatha C.. *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Hughes, Thomas P., and Hughes, Agatha C., "Mumford's Modern World." In *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. pp.3-14.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961.

Jencks, Christopher, "Is the Urban Underclass Growing?" In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.28-102.

Jones, Judy, and Wilson, William. *An Incomplete Education*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1987.

Kahn, Eve, "New Parks for Mean Streets." *Landscape Architecture*, January 1993, pp.66-69.

Kirschenmann, Joleen, and Neckerman, Kathryn M., "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But...': The Meaning of Race for Employers." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.203-234.

Langdon, Philip, "A Good Place to Live." *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1988, pp.39-60.

Lemaan, Nicholas, "The Origins of the Underclass I." *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1986, p.31-55.

Lemaan, Nicholas, "The Origins of the Underclass II." *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1986, pp.54-68.

Leo, John, "Targets in a cultural war." *The Raleigh News and Observer*, Mar. 16, 1993, p.A-11.

Marcus, Clare Cooper, and Sarkissian, Wendy. *Housing As If People Mattered*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

Marx, Leo, "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism." *In Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. Ed. Thomas Hughes and Agatha Hughes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. pp.164-180.

Mays, Vernon, "Neighborhoods by Design." Progressive Architecture, June 1992, pp.92-95.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Myth of the Machine I: Technics and Human Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Myth of the Machine II: The Pentagon of Power. New York*: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970.

Mumford, Lewis. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934.

Mayer, Susan, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.321-341.

Newman, Charles. *The Post-Modern Aura. Evanston, IL*: Northwestern University Press, 1985.

Osterman, Paul, "Gains from Growth? The Impact of Full Employment on Poverty in Boston." *In The Urban Underclass*. pp.122-134.

Petersen, Paul E., "The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp. 3-27.

Phillips, Ethan, and Andrews, Howard. *Residential Satisfaction and the Neighborhood: Perceptions of Young Adolescents in Public Housing*. Child in the City Report No.15, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1982.

Pratt, Mary Louise, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr.. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp.138-162

The President's National Urban Policy Report. U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, p.I-6.

Rabushka, Alvin, and Wessert, William. *Caseworkers or Police?: How Tenants See Public Housing*. 1977.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1968.

Ricketts, Erol, "The Underclass: Causes and Responses." In *The Metropolis in Black and White*. Eds. G. Galster and E. Hill. 1992. pp.216-235.

Rosenbaum, James E., and Popkin, Susan J., "Employment and Earnings of Low-Income Blacks Who Move to Middle-Class Suburbs." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.342-356.

Wilson, William Julius, "Public Policy Research and The Truly Disadvantaged." In *The Urban Underclass*. pp.460-482.

Woman, Harold, "The Reagan Urban Policy and Its Impacts." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, vol. 21, No. 3, p.315.

Notes

[1] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* New York:Bantam Books, 1968. (Hereinafter "Report".)

[2] John Charles Boger and Michael A. Stegman, *The Kerner Commission in Retrospect: Race and the American City, An Introduction*. Presented at the Weiss Symposium on Urban Livability, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993. p. 31.

[3] Paul E. Petersen, "The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox." In *The Urban Underclass*. Eds. Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Petersen. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991. (hereinafter *The Urban Underclass.*) p.7.

[4] In the current terminology, ghetto areas are those with poverty rates at least 40 percent. William Julius Wilson, "Public Policy Research and the Truly Disadvantaged:. In *The Urban Underclass.* The Kerner Commission used the term to refer to "an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization , and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation. Report, p. 12, n.1.

[5] Wilson, p. 462.

[6] Petersen, p. 23, n. 24; Boger and Stegman, p. 34, n. 101; Wilson, p. 462.

[7] See generally Christopher Jencks, "Is the Urban Underclass Growing?" In *The Urban Underclass.;* Petersen; Wilson.

[8] Petersen, pp. 9-16.

[9] "Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto... The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto." Report, p.14.

[10] Harold Woman, "The Reagan Urban Policy and Its Impacts," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* No.3, vol.21, p.315; *The President's National Urban Policy Report*, p.I-6, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research; Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, *Putting People First: How We Can All Change America*. New York: Times Books, 1992. pp.52-62.

[11] J. David Greenstone, "Culture, Rationality and the Underclass." *The Urban Underclass* . p. 403. "'When there's a demand for participation of the black underclass in the labor force, most of the so-called problems people talk about will evaporate in a generation,' says John McKnight, an urban-research professor at Northwestern University."--Nicholas Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass I." *The Atlantic Monthly,* June 1986, p. 34. Lemaan attributes the predominance of economic arguments on both sides of the ideological fence to conservative arguments on economic "incentives to fail" and liberal attempts to avoid the syndrome of "blaming the victim", often equated with support for the "culture of poverty" hypothesis.

[12] See generally Richard B. Freeman, "Employment and Earnings of Disadvantaged Young Men in a Labor Shortage Economy." *The Urban Underclass*. p. 103; Paul Osterman, "Gains from Growth? The Impact of Full Employment on Poverty in Boston." *The Urban Underclass.* p.122.

[13] *See* Jonathan Crane, "Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing," pp.299-320; Susan Mayer, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates?" pp.321-341; James E. Rosenbaum and Susan J. Popkin, "Employment and Earnings of Low-Income Blacks Who Move to Middle-Class Suburbs," pp.342-356; Elijah Anderson, "Neighborhood Effects on Teenage Pregnancy," pp.375-398; Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But. . .': The Meaning of Race for Employers," pp.203-234. All in *The Urban Underclass*.

[14] Wilson, pp.463, 465-466.

[15] See generally Thomas P. Hughes and Agatha C. Hughes, *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

[16] Leo Marx, "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism." *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual.* Eds. Thomas Hughes and Agatha Hughes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. p. 168.

[17] Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization.* New York: Harcourt,Brace and Co., 1934. p. 327.

[18] *Technics and Civilization*, p. 281.

[19] Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine I: Technics and Human Development.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967.

[20] Thomas Hughes and Agatha Hughes, "Mumford's Modern World." *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual.* p.10.

[21] *The Myth of the Machine I: Technics and Human Development*, p. 191. Mumford alludes to John Maynard Keynes' notion of "Pyramid Building" as a device to absorb surplus labor in affluent societies adverse to economic equalization and compares it to the NASA space program (p. 205).

[22] Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine II: The Pentagon of Power.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970. p. 430.

[23] *The Myth of the Machine I*, p. 213.

[24] Report, p.204. The Report also recognizes the influence of such organic factors as frustrated hopes, the degrading effects of discrimination and segregation, and the frustrations of powerlessness. pp.203-205.

[25] Wilson, p.462.

[26] See generally Erol Ricketts, "The Underclass: Causes and Respo-

neses." *The Metropolis in Black and White.* Eds. G. Galster and E. Hill. 1992; Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass I," *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1986; Petersen.

[27] Wilson, p. 462; Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But...': The Meaning of Race for Employers." *The Urban Underclass*; Report, p. 203; Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1986.

[28] Wilson, p.462; Kirschenman and Neckerman, pp. 207-231.

[29] Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," pp. 58-59.

[30] Those who consider evidence of this sort to be too "soft" might consider Mumford's own question: "By what inept logic must we bow to our creation if it be a machine, and spurn it as 'unreal' if it happens to be a painting or a poem? The machine is just as much a creature of thought as a poem: the poem is as much a fact of reality as the machine." *Technics and Civilization*, p. 318. Art, literature, architecture, and other aesthetic fields may be seen as a sort of 'leading indicator' of more general cultural change.

[31] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.7.

[32] *Technics and Civilization*, p. 333; Harvey, p. 9. It was the modernist architect Le Corbusier who promoted the slogan, "A house is a machine for modern living." Judy Jones and William Wilson, *An Incomplete Education*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1987. p. 100.

[33] Harvey, pp. 9. 49.

[34] Harvey, p. 62.

[35] For instance, Ad Reinhardt's "Portend of the Artist as a Yhung Mandala" (1956), or Robert Smithson's "Spiral Jetty" (1970). (Smithson's piece has further significance through its use of the spiral, cited by Mumford and Frank Lloyd Wright as a classic symbol of organicism, to criticize a mechanistic system which assigns cash values to human experiences.) But see Harvey, p. 62 (on the 'co-modification' of postmodern artists).

[36] Robin Cembalest, "The We Decade," *ARTNews*, Sept. 1992, pp.62-71

[37] Charles Newman, *The Post-Modern Aura*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1985. p.9.

[38] See Cembalest, pp. 62-71.

[39] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1952. pp. xxii-xxxv

[40] Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *"Race ," Writing, and Difference*. Ed. by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp.138-162

[41] John Leo, "Targets in a cultural war," *The Raleigh News and Observer*, March 16, 1993, p. A-11.

[42] Harvey, pp.66, 75.

[43] Jacobs proposed, among other things, mixed-use development based on shorter block sizes as a catalyst for increased interaction and diversity. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961. pp.153-186.

[44] *Hill v. Gautreaux*, 425 U.S. 284 (1976), in which the Supreme Court affirmed the power of a district judge to order the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development to take action outside the Chicago city limits to remedy discrimanatory site selection for public housing within the city.

[45] See generally Rosenbaum and Popkin, p.342.

[46] Rosenbaum and Popkin, p.342.

[47] Harvey, p. 39.

[48] "[W]e frequently find housing officials concerned only with dwelling mix and construction speed, government agencies concerned only with costs per dwelling and compliance with technical standards. . . . ." Clare Cooper Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian, *Housing As If People Mattered*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986. p.4

[49] Harvey, p.67 (citing Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 1975)

[50] See Rabushka and Wessert, *Caseworkers or Police?: How Tenants See Public Housing*, 1977, p.48.

[51] Report p. 266.

[52] Ethan Phillips and Howard Andrews, *Residential Satisfaction and the Neighborhood: Perceptions of Young Adolescents in Public Housing*, Child in the City Report No. 15, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1982, p.31.

[53] Phillips and Andrews, p.31. See also Eve Kahn, "New Parks for Mean Streets, *Landscape Architecture*, January 1993, pp.66-69 (on the importance of community responsibility in the design of safe urban parks); Marcus and Sarkissian, (on the impact of various design elements).

[54] See Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," p.63.

[55] Franklin D. Becker, *Design for Living: The Residents' View of Multi-Family Housing*, Final Report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1974. p.35.

[56] Becker, p.67

[57] Positive organic design elements like these may be incorporated into development without the imposition of a single homogeneous, anti-vernacular 'style'.

[58] Becker, pp. 68(a) - (c).

[59] See Vernon Mays, "Neighborhoods by Design," *Progressive Architecture*, June 1992, pp.92-95.

[60] The requirement of houses having front porches has also been instituted in Seaside, the upscale neo-traditional development in Florida sometimes called "the most celebrated American new town of the decade." The developer of Seaside concluded that front porches encourage neighborly chatting and cooperation. Philip Langdon, "A Good Place to Live," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1988, p.42

[61] Mays, pp. 93-5.

[62] See Jacobs, pp.4-5.

[63] Programs like this one have the potential to overcome many of the factors cited by William Julius Wilson as consequences of the isolation of the black urban underclass, such as inadequate access to job and social networks, the absence of role models, and the unavailability of suitable marriage partners. Wilson, pp. 462-3.

EXPIRES 000
NORTH CAROLINA COLLECTION
WILSON LIBRARY, CB# 3930
CHAPEL HILL, NC 27599-3930